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SYMES'S EMBASSY TO AVA.

THERE is no civilized country so little known as India beyond the Ganges; although, even in Ptolemy's time, it was the seat of commerce, and now comprehends one of the greatest empires in the east.

The Birmans, whose ancient capital was Ava, maintained a supremacy over the kingdom of Pegu throughout the last, and during the first 40 years of the 18th century, when the Peguers revolted, and finally subdued their masters. But their triumph was of short duration; for the Birmans, after a pause, flew to arms; and, at the end of a long and bloody war, completely subjugated the people of Pegu. Arracan was also compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the conquerors: and the Siamese, with difficulty, preserved their independence over part of their ancient territories. Thus the Birmans became indisputably pre-eminent among the nations inhabiting the vast peninsula that separates the gulf of Bengal from the Chinese sea; possessed of a territory equal in extent to the

German empire; blessed with a salubrious climate, and a soil capable of producing almost every article of luxury, convenience, and commerce, that the east supply, Miamma, or Birmah, thus happily circumstanced, enjoyed the pleasing prospect of a long exemption from the miseries of war; but unbending pride, and resentment unjustifiably prosecuted, nearly embroiled them in fresh troubles, before they had time to profit by the advantages of peace, and threatened to raise them up a foe far more formidable than the Chinese, Arracaners, Peguers, Siamese, and Cassayers, whom they had conquered.

The trade of Arracan, which is chiefly carried on with the eastern ports through an inland navigation, when the rivers are swollen by the rains, had suffered repeated interruptions from piratical banditti, who, infesting the Broken islands, among which the channels wind, that are the usual course of boats, not only committed depredations on private merchants, but had even the hardiness to attack fleets, laden with the royal customs, which are usually received in kind, viz. 1-10th of the commodity. These robbers, when the season of the year did not admit of their plundering on the water, sought adventures by land; and, as the Birmans allege, conveyed their booty of goods and cattle across the river Naaf, into the Chittagong province, where, secure from pursuit, being then under protection of the British flag, they disposed of their spoils to advantage, and lived at ease, until returning want impelled them to renew their predatory inroads.

The river *Naaf*, which bounds the British and Birman territories, is situated at a considerable distance from the town of *Chittagong*, the seat of provincial government, and residence of the English magistrate. The banks of this river are covered with deep jungles, interspersed with scanty spots of cultivation, and a few wretched villages, where dwell the poorest class of herdsmen, and the families of roving hunters, whose occupation it is to catch and tame the wild elephants, with which these forests abound. The asylum that such unfrequented places offered to persons concerned in a lawless traffic, rendered it easy to be carried on without the knowledge of the English officers of justice; nor could it possibly reach the notice of the

supreme board, unless a proper representation was made, either by the individuals that were aggrieved, or by the government of their country. This, however, was a condescension, to which the mighty emperor of the Birmans, who conceives himself superior to every potentate on earth, would never stoop. To ask redress was beneath his dignity; he proceeded by a more summary course to do himself justice. On its being ascertained that three distinguished leaders of the robbers had sought refuge in the British districts, his Birman majesty, without communicating his intention, or in any form demanding the fugitives, thought fit to order a body of 5,000 men, under an officer of rank, to enter the company's territories, with positive injunctions to the commander not to return, unless he brought with him the delinquents, dead or alive; further, to support this detachment, an army of 20,000 men were held in readiness at Arracan.

So unexpected an aggression, offered without any previous remonstrance, or the assignment of any plea, left no room for discussing the merits of the case. The Birmans having taken upon themselves to redress their own grievances, it became necessary to convince them that they had mistaken the mode; and what they might readily procure from English justice, they could never extort through fear: to accomplish this purpose, a strong detachment was formed by the presidency, the conduct of which was intrusted to major-general Erskine; the troops proceeded from Calcutta to Chittagong, a battalion of Europeans and artillery by water, and the native seapoys by land.

Seree Nunda Kiozo, the Birman chief, to whom the arduous task of reclaiming the fugitives was assigned, acted with more circumspection and prudence, than the government from which he had received his instructions. After his army had crossed the river, and encamped on the western bank, he dictated a letter to the British judge and magistrate of Chittagong, acquainting him of the reasons for the inroad; that the caption of the delinquents was his sole object, without harbouring any design of hostilities against the English. At the same time he declared, in a style of peremptory demand,

that until they were given up, he would not depart from the company's territories: in confirmation of this menace, he fortified his camp in the Birman manner, with a stockade, and seemed determined to resist any attempt to oblige him to retire. These matters being reported to government, the governor-general was pleased to order the magistrate of Chittagong to apprehend the refugees, and keep them in safe custody until further directions.

On the approach of general Erskine, Seree Nunda Kiozo sent a flag of truce, to propose terms of accommodation, stipulating for the surrender of the fugitives, as the basis of the agreement. The general replied, that no proposals could be listened to whilst the Birmans continued on English ground; but as soon as they should withdraw from their fortified camp, and retire within their own frontiers, he would enter upon the subject of their complaints; notifying also, that unless they evacuated the company's possessions in a limited time, force would be used to compel them. The Birman chief, in a manly confidence of the English character, personally waited on general Erskine, and disclosed to him the nature of his instructions, the enormity of the offences, and the outrages they had committed. General Erskine, whose moderation and judgment on this occasion cannot be too highly commended, assured him, that it was far from the intention of the British government to screen the delinquents, or sanction in their country an asylum for robbers; but as the manner in which the Birman troops had entered the company's district, was so repugnant to the principles that ought to regulate the conduct of civilized nations, it was impossible for him to recede from his first determination. He gave hopes, notwithstanding, that if the Birmans peaceably retired, the governor-general would institute a regular inquiry into the charges preferred against the prisoners: adding, that instant compliance with the conditions prescribed, was the only ground on which they could expect so great an indulgence. The Birman general, either contented with this intimation, or convinced that opposition would be fruitless, professed his reliance on general Erskine, and agreed to withdraw his troops: the retreat was

conducted in the most orderly manner; and so strict was the subordination observed in the Birman army, that not one act of violence was committed either on the person or property of British subjects, during the time their troops continued within the company's districts. General Erskine was afterwards empowered, by the governor-general, to investigate the charges against the refugees, when, after a formal and deliberate hearing, their guilt being established on the clearest evidence, they were delivered over to their own laws, by whose sentence, two out of the three underwent capital punishment.

The amicable termination of this difference, afforded a favourable opportunity to acquire a more accurate knowledge than had hitherto been obtained, of a people, whose situation, extent of territory, and commercial connexion with British India, rendered a liberal intercourse with them highly desirable. The trade between Calcutta, Madras, and Rangoon, had of late years so rapidly increased, as to become an object of national importance, more particularly on account of teak timber, the produce of Ava and Pegu, whence Calcutta and Madras drew all their supplies of wood for ship building, and for various other purposes. A commerce in one article so essential to us, and, on a general scale, so extensive as to require an annual return of Indian commodities to the amount of 200,000*l.* sterling, was an object well worth cultivating. Representations had, at different times, been made to the supreme board by private merchants and mariners, complaining of injustice and oppression at the port of Rangoon; the recent inroad of the Birmans, which originated partly in pride, and partly in ignorance, would probably not have occurred, had there existed an authorized channel of intercourse between the respective governments. To prevent the recurrence of a like misunderstanding; to form a commercial connexion on equitable and fixed principles, and to establish a confidential and authentic correspondence, such as ought to subsist between two great and contiguous nations; sir John Shore (afterwards created lord Teignmouth) thought proper to send a formal deputation to the Birman court. Michael Symes, esq., major in his majesty's 76th regiment of foot, was selected for this service;

and the following brief sketch will evince, that a better selection could scarcely have been made.

'Having received my commissions,' says he, 'from the governor-general, one appointing me agent-plenipotentiary, with powers to treat, in the name of the supreme government of India, with the emperor of Ava; the other, vesting in me authority to take cognizance of the conduct of British subjects, trading to, or residing in, the countries I was destined to visit; on the 21st of February, 1795, I embarked at Calcutta, on board the Sea-horse, an armed cruizer belonging to the East India company, captain Thomas, commander, attended by Mr. Wood, assistant and secretary, and Dr. Buchanan, surgeon to the mission. A *havildar* (native serjeant), *naick* (native corporal), and 14 seapoys, selected from a battalion at the military station of Barracpore, formed an attendant guard; these, with an Hindoo *pundit* (professor of Hindoo learning), for whose company I was indebted to the goodness of sir Robert Chambers, a *monshee* (a mussulman professor of language), and inferior servants of various descriptions, increased our numbers to more than 70 persons.'

On the 5th of March, major Symes landed at Port Cornwallis, a new settlement, established by the company for the reception of convicts, on the Andaman islands. 'All that voyagers,' says our author, 'have related of uncivilized life, seems to fall short of the barbarism of the people of this island. The ferocious natives of New Zealand, or the shivering half-animated savages of Terra del Fuego, are in a relative state of refinement, compared to these islanders. The population of the Great Andaman, and all its dependencies, does not, according to captain Stokoe, exceed 2,000 or 2,500 souls; these are dispersed in small societies along the coasts, or on the lesser islands within the harbour, never penetrating deeper than the skirts of the forests, which hold out little inducement for them to enter, as they contain no animals to supply them with food. Their sole occupation seems to be that of climbing rocks, or roving along the margin of the sea in quest of a precarious meal of fish, which during the tempestuous season they often seek for in vain.

'The Andamaners are not more favoured in the conformation of their bodies, than in the endowments of their mind. In stature, they seldom exceed five feet; their limbs are disproportionably slender, their bellies protuberant, with high shoulders and large heads; and, strange to find in this part of the world, they are a degenerate race of negroes with woolly hair, flat noses, and thick lips; their eyes are small and red, their skin of a deep sooty black, whilst their countenances exhibit the extreme of wretchedness: a horrid mixture of famine and ferocity. They go quite naked, and are insensible of any shame from exposure.

'Having passed five days in this wild sequestered abode, where the novelty of the scene, and friendly attention of our entertainers, captains Ramsay and Stokoe, would have rendered a longer stay agreeable, we prepared to depart. The Hindoos, whose religion forbid them to drink water drawn by impure hands, had filled their own casks; and the stock of our numerous company was replenished. On the 10th we re-embarked, and stood to sea: next morning at daylight made the island of Narcondam, about 20 leagues east of the Andamans; a barren rock, rising abruptly out of the ocean, uninhabited, and seemingly destitute of vegetation. The wind foul, we were obliged to tack; and on the following day we had advanced so little to the northward, that Narcondam was still in sight. About noon, we discovered two ships and a schooner, standing to the south-east: they hoisted English colours, and we kept our course. On the 13th the wind veered to the southward, and became fair: on the 16th we found ourselves, by a meridian observation, nearly in the latitude of the roads of Rangoon, but by our reckoning and time-piece too far to the eastward: after steering west some hours, we anchored for the night in five fathoms, and plainly perceived lights on the beach. Next morning we discovered low land, about six miles to the north-west. Here we remained till the 18th, waiting for a pilot, standing off and on with short tacks in the daytime, and at anchor during the night. Finding that our signals, by firing guns and hoisting colours in the usual manner, were not answered, Mr. Palmer, the

second officer, was sent in the pinnace, with instructions to proceed up the river as far as Rangoon, in case he did not find a pilot sooner. On the ensuing day, the wind being moderate and fair, captain Thomas ventured to stand in; and steering by land-marks, and sending a boat a-head, crossed the bar without a pilot, at half flood, in four fathoms. At 12 o'clock we entered the Rangoon river; the land on each side appeared low and swampy, and the banks skirted with high reeds and brushwood. Four miles within the extremes we came abreast of a small village, whence a boat rowed towards us: it proved to be a watch boat, stationed at the mouth of the river, to send intelligence of the arrival of vessels to the nearest guard, whence it is forwarded to the governor of Rangoon. The Birman officer that came on board was a mean looking man, dressed in a shabby cotton jacket, and a piece of faded silk, which, after twice encircling his waist, was passed loosely between his legs and fastened behind, covering the thighs about half way to the knees. This personage, in his own opinion of no insignificant consequence, sat down on a chair without the smallest ceremony, and called in an authoritative tone for his implements of writing, which were produced by one of three attendants that accompanied him. These, when their master was seated, squatted upon their heels on the deck before his chair, attentive only to his commands, in an attitude and manner very much resembling baboons, although they were well proportioned men. The officer inquired, in broken Portuguese, the name of the ship, whence she came, what arms and ammunition were on board, and the name of the commander: being satisfied in these points, he carefully committed them to writing. Hearing that we were not provided with a pilot, he desired the captain to come to an anchor till one could be procured; as, in case of any accident happening, he would be held responsible for permitting us to proceed. Just then, Mr. Palmer in the ship's boat made his appearance. He had been to Rangoon, and brought down a pilot with him: our cautious visitor offered no farther objections, but took his leave with as little ceremony as he had entered.

'About two o'clock a small boat from Rangoon met the ship: a man in it hailed our pilot, in the language of Hindostan, and desired him to cast anchor, as it was the intention of the governor of Rancoon to come down and receive the British deputation in person. We immediately complied with his desire.

'The place where we brought to, is 12 miles below Rangoon. The entrance of the river, and the banks on each side, bore a near resemblance to those of the Ganges; but the navigation is much more commodious. The channel is bold and deep, from 6½ to 8 fathoms, uninterrupted by shoals or inequality of soundings. Mr. Wood judged the river at this place to be from three-quarters to a mile in breadth. We continued at anchor till next day, in expectation of the promised visit. About noon the fleet came in sight: it consisted of from 20 to 30 boats; on a nearer approach, only four out of the number seemed to belong to persons of superior condition; these were not unlike, in form, to the drawings of the state canoes of some of the South-sea islands: they were long and narrow, with an elevated stern, ornamented with peacocks' feathers, and the tails of Tibet cows; each boat bore a different flag, and had a long, flexible, painted pole, with a gilded ball at the extremity, protruding horizontally from the stern. Three persons, apparently of higher rank, came on board; they meant to be civil, but were perfectly free from restraint, and took possession of chairs without waiting for any invitation, or paying the smallest regard to those who were not seated; whilst their attendants, seemingly as much at their ease as their masters, formed a semicircle around them on the deck, in like manner as the servants of our former visitor. Being as yet unapprized of the external forms of respect among them, such conduct surprised us a good deal. The chief of the three, a good looking young man, of short stature, I understood to be a man of consideration. He was a governor of the province of Dalla, on the opposite side of the river to Rangoon, which he held on the part of the mother of the queen, whose *jaghire*, or estate, it is. The second, an elderly plain man, said he was *nak-haan-gee;*

literally, the royal ear. I was afterwards informed he was transmitter of intelligence, or reporter to the imperial court, an office of much confidence. The third, a *seree*, an inferior secretary, was a man of little relative importance compared with the other two. We conversed for an hour, through the medium of an interpreter who spoke the language of Hindostan: they were extremely inquisitive, and asked a number of questions concerning the mission, which were answered in friendly but general terms. Having paid their compliments, they arose to depart, and returned to their boats, making lavish professions of friendship; and whilst the ship sailed before a gentle breeze, they rowed with great velocity round her, performing a variety of evolutions, and exhibiting considerable skill in the management of their vessels, which were of unequal dimensions, from 28 to 40 oars: we judged the longest to be between 60 and 70 feet, and from 6 to 8 in breadth: in this manner we proceeded until the town and shipping were in view. The Princess Royal East Indiaman, that had come from Madras for a cargo of timber, fired a salute to the company's colours; and the Sea-horse paid a compliment to the battery on shore, of 11 guns, which were returned by an equal number: the pilot came to, below the town, apart from the other ships about half a mile. As soon as the Sea-horse dropped anchor, all the boats withdrew, without further notice or explanation.'

Major Symes was for some time watched with the most vigilant suspicion, and subjected to a restriction little short of imprisonment: but growing impatient, he threatened to return, when it was agreed that the captains of the English ships were to have free access; his attendants liberty to purchase what they wanted, and to go where they pleased; the spies stationed on board the Sea-horse were to be removed; and boats suffered to pass from the ship to the shore without a Birman centinel.

The suspicions of the Birmans had been excited by some designing men, who were jealous of the English: but, when a reconciliation took place, the major was urged to embark for Pegu, where the viceroy resided, as soon as possible. The annual feast at the great temple of Pegu was about to be

celebrated with sumptuous magnificence; and the viceroy had expressed a particular desire that the English gentlemen should witness the rejoicings.

Pegu, calculating all the windings of the river, is about 90 miles from Rangoon. Here the major and his suite were kindly received by *Baba-Sheen*, a clever, intelligent officer. Scarcely was their baggage arranged in the house appointed for the residence of the embassy, when the *maywoon*, or viceroy, sent to the major, inviting him to wave ceremony, and to attend on the following morning at the great temple of *Shoemadoo*, to view the amusements of the first day.

'At eight o'clock in the morning,' says he, 'Baba-Sheen arrived, in order to conduct us to the temple; he brought with him three small horses, equipped with saddles and bridles, resembling those used by the higher ranks of the inhabitants of Hindostan. After breakfast, Mr. Wood, doctor Buchanan, and myself, mounted, and attended by Baba-Sheen, and an Ackedoo, an officer belonging to the maywoon's household, also on horseback, set out to view the ceremony. We entered the new town by the nearest gate, and proceeded upwards of a quarter of a mile through the principal street till we came to where it was crossed at right angles by another, which led from the maywoon's residence to the temple: here our progress was stopped by a great concourse of people, and we perceived on each side of the way, troops marching by single files in slow time, towards the temple. By the advice of Baba-Sheen, we occupied a convenient spot to view the procession. The troops that we saw, were the maywoon's guard; 5 or 600 men passed us in this manner, wretchedly armed and equipped; many had muskets that appeared in a very unserviceable state, with accoutrements not in a more respectable condition; some were provided with spears, others with sabres; whilst their dress was as motley as their weapons. Several were naked to the middle, having only a *kummerband*, or waistcloth, rolled round their waist, and passed between their legs; some were dressed in old velvet, or cloth coats, which they put on regardless of size or fashion, although it scarce covered their nakedness, or trailed on the ground: it was finery, and finery

in any shape was welcome. Some wore Dutch broad brimmed hats, bound with gold lace, others the crown of hats, without any brim at all: the officers of this martial band, who were for the most part Christian descendants of Portugueze ancestors, exhibited a very grotesque appearance. The first personages of rank that passed by were three children of the maywoon, astride upon men's shoulders; the eldest, a boy about eight years of age; the youngest, a girl not more than five; the latter only was legitimate, being the first born of his present wife; the two elder were the offspring of concubines. The maywoon followed at a short distance, mounted on the neck of a very fine elephant, which he guided himself. His dress was handsome and becoming, he had on a dark velvet robe with long sleeves, trimmed with broad gold lace, and on his head he wore a conical cap of the same material, richly embroidered: a number of parade elephants in tawdry housings brought up the rear. As we had not been formally introduced, he passed by, without honouring us with any notice. Proceeding to the foot of the steps that lead to the pagoda, his elephant knelt down to suffer him to alight. Whilst he was in the performance of this act, the parade elephants knelt also, and the crowd that followed squatted on their heels. Having ascended the flight of steps, he put off his shoes, and walked once round the temple without his umbrella, which was laid aside out of reverence to the sanctity of the place. When he had finished this ceremony, he proceeded to the scene of amusement, a sort of theatre erected at an angle of the area of the temple. Town saloons, or open halls, separate from the great building, formed two sides of the theatre, which was about 50 feet square, covered by an awning of grass, spread on a flat roof of slender canes, supported by bamboo poles. Beneath the projecting verge of the roof of one of the saloons, there was an elevated seat, with a handsome canopy of cloth, for the accommodation of the maywoon and his three children; and on a bare bench beneath him sat the principal officers of his court. On the left side of the theatre, a similar canopy and chair were erected for the maywoon of Martaban, who happened at this time to be passing by to take possession

of his government. Opposite to him, under the roof of the other saloon, seats were provided for the English gentlemen, covered with fine carpeting, but without any canopy. The diversions of this day consisted entirely of boxing and wrestling. In order to prevent injury to the champions, the ground had been prepared, and made soft with moistened sand. At the latter exercise they seemed to be very expert: a short, stout man was particularly distinguished for his superior skill and strength; we were told, that in former contests he had killed two of his antagonists. The first that encountered him on the present occasion, though much superior in size, was, after a short struggle, pitched on his head, and, as the bystanders said, severely hurt. Many others displayed great activity and address; but in the art of boxing they seemed very deficient, notwithstanding they used fists, knees, and elbows. The battles were of short duration; blood drawn on either side terminated the contest; and even without it, the maywoon would not suffer them to contend long. At the end of an engagement both combatants approached the maywoon's throne, and prostrated themselves before him, with their foreheads to the ground, whilst an attendant spread on the shoulders of each two pieces of cotton cloth, as the reward of their exertions, which they carried away in a crouching position, until they mingled with the crowd. The places of those who retired were immediately filled by fresh pugilists. This amusement lasted for three hours, until we became quite weary of it; tea and sweetmeats in great profusion were afterwards served to us, in the name of the maywoon. We departed without ceremony, and got home about four o'clock, extremely oppressed by the intense heat of the weather.

'In the morning an early message came from the maywoon, intimating that he hoped to see us that day at the government house. Baba-Sheen also made a tender of his services to introduce us to the *praw*, or lord; who being ready at the hour appointed, we set out on horseback to pay our visit of ceremony, preceded by soldiers of the guard, and our personal attendants. Six Birmans also walked in front, bearing the articles intended as a present, which consisted of silks, satins,

velvets, gold, flowered and plain muslins, some broad cloth, and a handsome silver-mounted fowling piece. In this order we marched through the town, the objects of universal curiosity, till we reached the gate of an enclosure surrounding the maywoon's dwelling. It was made of boards nailed to posts 12 or 13 feet high, and comprehended a spacious square, in the centre of which stood the governor's residence. There were likewise some smaller houses irregularly disposed, appropriated, as we understood, to the several members of the maywoon's family. We pulled off our shoes at the bottom of the stairs, and were ushered into the saloon, from whence, turning to the right, we ascended three steps into a hall, where a number of persons, ranged on each side, were sitting with their legs inverted, waiting the entrance of the maywoon. Instructed by Baba-Sheen, we took our seats on small carpets spread in the middle of the room, in front of a narrow gallery, elevated about two feet from the floor, and railed in; with the presents placed before us on trays. In a few minutes the maywoon entered by a door at one end of the gallery; we made no obeisance, as none was desired, but his attendants crouched to the ground. He sat down, and silence was kept for some time, which I first interrupted, by telling him, through Baba-Sheen, that the governor-general of India, having received his friendly letter, and being well assured of the amicable disposition of the Birman government towards the English nation, had charged me with the delivery of letters and presents to his majesty at Ava, and had likewise requested his acceptance of a few articles which I had brought with me. I then rose, and presented the governor-general's letter; he laid it on the tray before him, talked of indifferent matters, and was extremely polite in his expressions and manner, but carefully avoided all discourse that had the least relation to business, or the objects of the embassy. After half an hour's conversation, chiefly on uninteresting topics, he invited us to a grand display of fireworks, which was to take place on the following day, and soon after withdrew unceremoniously: tea and sweetmeats were then served up. Having tasted of what was set before us, we were conducted by Baba-Sheen to the

outer balcony, to view the different companies pass by that intended to exhibit fireworks on the following day.

'It is the custom, on this occasion, for the several *mious*, or districts, whose situation is not too remote, to select and send a number of men and women from the community to represent them at the general festival: these companies vie with each other in the magnificence of their fireworks, and on the eve of celebration pass the government-house in review before the maywoon and his family, each company distinct. A small waggon, drawn by four buffaloes, profusely decorated with peacocks' feathers, and the tails of Tibet cows, led the procession, on which were laid the fireworks of that particular company; next advanced the men belonging to it, dancing and shouting; the females, in a separate troop, came last, singing in full chorus, and clapping their hands in accurately measured time. They, for the most part, appeared to be girls from 16 to 20 years of age, comely, and well made, but their features were without the delicacy of the damsels of Hindostan, or the bloom of the soft Circassian beauties. In every company of young women, there were a few aged matrons, probably as a check on the vivacity of youth; the seniors, however, seemed to join in the festivity with juvenile sprightliness. Refreshments were again served up to us, and we returned home about two o'clock.

'At eight in the morning great crowds had assembled on the plain without the stockade of the present town, but within the walls of ancient Pegu; three temporary sheds were erected on the middle of the green, apart from each other, one for the reception of the maywoon and his family, another for the Martaban governor, and a third for our accommodation. Common spectators, to the number of many thousands, were scattered in groups over the plain; each division or company exhibited in turn its own fireworks: the display of rockets was strikingly grand, but nothing else merited attention. The cylinders of the rockets were trunks of trees hollowed, many of them seven or eight feet long, and from two to three feet in circumference; these were bound by strong ligatures to thick bamboos, 18 or 20 feet in length; they rose to a

great height, and in descending emitted various appearances of fire that were very beautiful. The time appointed for the amusement considerably diminished the effect, but it was chosen from a humane apprehension of injury to the people by the fall of extinguished rockets, which must have rendered the diversion, during the night, extremely dangerous.—— Notwithstanding this precaution, a man was unfortunate enough to be in the way of one that killed him on the spot. Each company, after contributing its share towards the general entertainment, marched past the maywoon, to the sound of musical instruments; after which they proceeded to our shed with songs and dances, "the pipe and the tabor," manifesting every lively demonstration of joy.

'It was a spectacle not less pleasing than novel to an European, to witness such a concourse of people of all classes, brought together for the purpose of hilarity and sport, without their committing one act of intemperance, or being disgraced by a single instance of intoxication. What scenes of riot and debauchery would not a similar festival in the vicinity of any capital town of Great Britain inevitably produce! The reflection is humiliating to an Englishman, however proud he may feel of the national character.

'During the four following days we enjoyed a respite from public shows and ceremonials, and had leisure for observation; notwithstanding our hall, in a morning, was generally crowded, as every person of distinction in Pegu paid me the compliment of a visit, except the maywoon, who, within the precincts of his own government, where he represents the king, never returns a visit. Numbers both of men and women, prompted by harmless curiosity, surrounded the paling of the inclosure from morning till night; those of a better class usually came in, some previously asking permission, but many entered without it. Perfectly free from restraint among themselves, the Birmans scruple not to go into your house without ceremony, although you are an utter stranger. To do them justice, however, they are not at all displeased at your taking the same freedom with them. This intrusion is confined wholly to your public room; they do not attempt to open a

door, and where a curtain dropped denotes privacy, they never offer to violate the barrier. On entering the room they immediately descend into the posture of respect. Of all our customs none seemed to surprize them more than the preparations for dining: the variety of the utensils, and our manner of sitting at table, excited their wonder; they never took any greater liberty than merely to come into the room, and sit down on the floor; they meddled with nothing, and asked for nothing, and when desired to go away always obeyed with cheerfulness. Had untold gold been placed before them, I am confident not a piece would have been purloined. Among the men of rank that visited us, an officer called *seree dogee* favoured us with his company more frequently than the rest; he held, by commission from the king, the place of chief provincial secretary, and junior judge of the criminal court; this gentleman often partook of our dinner, and seemed to relish our fare, but could not be prevailed on to taste wine or strong liquors; he was much pleased with the English mode of making tea, of which he drank copiously; indeed it is a beverage highly palatable to all ranks of Birmans.

'The solar year of the Birmans was now drawing to a close, and the three last days are usually spent by them in merriment and feasting; we were invited by the maywoon to be present on the evening of the 10th of April, at the exhibition of a dramatic representation.

'At a little before eight o'clock, the hour when the play was to commence, we proceeded to the house of the maywoon, accompanied by Baba-Sheen, who, on all occasions, acted as master of the ceremonies. The theatre was the open court, splendidly illuminated by lamps and torches; the maywoon and his lady sat in a projecting balcony of his house; we occupied seats below him, raised about two feet from the ground and covered with carpets; a crowd of spectators were seated in a circle round the stage. The performance began immediately on our arrival, and far excelled any Indian drama I had ever seen. The dialogue was spirited without rant, and the action animated, without being extravagant: the dresses

of the principal performers were showy and becoming. I was told that the best actors were natives of Siam, a nation which, though unable to contend with the Birmans and Peguers in war, have cultivated with more success the refined arts of peace. By way of an interlude between the acts, a clownish buffoon entertained the audience with a recital of different passages, and by grimace, and frequent alterations of tone and countenance, extorted loud peals of laughter from the spectators. The Birmans seem to delight in mimickry, and are very expert in the practice, possessing uncommon versatility of countenance. An eminent practitioner of this art amused us with a specimen of his skill, at our own house, and, to our no small astonishment, exhibited a masterly display of the passions, in pantomimic looks and gestures: the transitions he made from pain to pleasure, from joy to despair, from rage to mildness, from laughter to tears; his expression of terror, and, above all, his look of idiotism, were performances of first rate merit in their line, and we agreed in opinion, that had his fates decreed him to have been a native of Great Britain, his genius would have rivalled that of any modern comedian of the English stage.

'On the 12th of April, the last day of the Birman year, we were invited by the maywoon to bear a part ourselves in a sport that is universally practised throughout the Birman dominions on the concluding day of their annual cycle. To wash away the impurities of the past, and commence the new year free from stain, women on this day are accustomed to throw water on every man they meet, which the men have the privilege of retorting; this licence gives rise to a great deal of harmless merriment, particularly amongst the young women, who, armed with large syringes and flaggons, endeavour to wet every man that goes along the street, and, in their turn, receive a wetting with perfect good humour; nor is the smallest indecency ever manifested in this or in any other of their sports. Dirty water is never cast; a man is not allowed to lay hold of a woman, but may fling as much water over her as he pleases, provided she has been the aggressor; but if a woman warns

a man that she does not mean to join in the diversion, it is considered as an avowal of pregnancy, and she passes without molestation.

'About an hour before sunset we went to the maywoon's, and found that his lady had provided plentifully to give us a wet reception. In the hall were placed three large China jars, full of water, with bowls and ladles to fling it. Each of us, on entering, had a bottle of rose-water presented to him, a little of which we in turn poured into the palm of the maywoon's hand, who sprinkled it over his own vest of fine flowered muslin; the lady then made her appearance at the door, and gave us to understand that she did not mean to join in the sport herself, but made her eldest daughter, a pretty child, in the nurse's arms, pour from a golden cup some rose-water mixed with sandal-wood, first over her father, and then over each of the English gentlemen; this was a signal for the sport to begin. We were prepared, being dressed in linen waistcoats. From 10 to 20 women, young and middle-aged, rushed into the hall from the inner apartments, who surrounded and deluged without mercy four men ill able to maintain so unequal a contest. The maywoon was soon driven from the field; but Mr. Wood having got possession of one of the jars, we were enabled to preserve our ground till the water was exhausted; it seemed to afford them great diversion, especially if we appeared at all distressed by the quantity of water flung in our faces. All parties being tired, and completely drenched, we went home to change our clothes, and in the way met many damsels who would willingly have renewed the sport; they, however, were afraid to begin without receiving encouragement from us, not knowing how it might be taken by strangers; but they assailed Baba-Sheen and his Birman attendants with little ceremony. No inconvenient consequences were to be apprehended from the wetting; the weather was favourable, and we ran no risk of taking cold. Having put on dry clothes, we returned to the maywoon's, and were entertained with a dance and puppet-show that lasted till eleven.'

During this time major Symes and his suite were plentifully supplied with provisions, and provided with horses for exercise. They were permitted to visit any part of the city, which was then rapidly recovering from the desolation caused by former wars. The streets are spacious and paved with brick, and the houses raised from the ground on wooden posts. 'But the object in Pegu,' says our author, 'that most attracts, and most merits notice, is the noble edifice of *Shoemadoo*, or the Golden Supreme. This extraordinary pile of building is erected on a double terrace, one raised upon another: the lower and greater terrace is about 10 feet above the natural level of the ground, forming an exact parallelogram: the upper and lesser terrace is similar in shape, and rises about 20 feet above the lower terrace, or 30 above the level of the country. I judged a side of the lower terrace to be 1,391 feet; of the upper, 684.

'Shoemadoo is a pyramidical building, composed of brick and mortar, without excavation or aperture of any sort; octagonal at the base, and spiral at top; each side of the base measures 162 feet; this immense breadth diminishes abruptly, and a similar building has not unaptly been compared in shape to a large speaking-trumpet.

'A great variety of mouldings encircle the building, and ornaments somewhat resembling the *fleur-de-lys* surround the lower part of the spire: circular mouldings likewise girt it to a considerable height, above which are ornaments in stucco not unlike the leaves of a Corinthian capital, and the whole is crowned by a *tee*, or umbrella, of open iron-work, from which rises a rod with a gilded pennant.

'The circumference of the tee is 56 feet; it rests on an iron axis fixed in the building, and is farther secured by large chains strongly rivetted to the spire. Round the lower rim of the tee are appended a number of bells, which, agitated by the wind, make a continual jingling.

'The extreme height of the edifice, from the level of the country, is 361 feet, and above the interior terrace, 331 feet.

'From the upper projection that surrounds the base of Shoemadoo, the prospect of the circumjacent country is

extensive and picturesque; but it is a prospect of nature in her rudest state; there are few inhabitants, and scarcely any cultivation.

'Not being able to procure any satisfactory information respecting the antiquity of Shoemadoo, I paid a visit to the *siredaw*, or superior *rhahaan* (priest) of the country; his abode was situated in a shady grove of tamarind trees, about five miles south-east of the city; every object seemed to correspond with the years and dignity of the possessor. He told me, that in the convulsions of the Pegu empire, most of their valuable records had been destroyed, but it was traditionally believed that the temple of Shoemadoo was founded 2,300 years ago, by two merchants, brothers, who came to Pegu from *Tallowmeou*, a district one day's journey east of Martaban.

'The only article of consequence manufactured in Pegu is silk and cotton cloth, which the women weave for their own and their husbands' use. It is wrought with considerable dexterity; the thread is well spun, and the texture of the web is close and strong; it is mostly checquered like the Scotch tartan. They make no more than what suffices their own consumption.

'We had now spent nearly three weeks at Pegu, and seen every thing worthy of notice, which, in a place so lately rescued from desert, could not be very interesting or various. Gathering clouds, and a gloomy horizon, foretold the approach of the south-west monsoon; and we had reason shortly to expect the arrival of a royal messenger, to notify his majesty's pleasure in regard to our further progress. Having also several arrangements to make at Rangoon, preparatory to our departure, it became expedient to appoint a day for quitting Pegu; I therefore intimidated to the maywoon my intention, and fixed on the 25th to take my leave, on which day I visited him in form. After half an hour's cheerful conversation, he asked me with much earnestness, whether we were pleased with the reception and treatment we had received; in return, I gave him the most ample assurances of our entire satisfaction, expressed my sense of his past kindness, and my reliance on

his future friendship; he seemed happy to find that we were contented, and handsomely apologized for the restraint and apparent rudeness we had sustained on our first coming to Rangoon, which, he said, originated in misconception. Thus we parted with perfect complacency on both sides.

'Captain Thomas and Dr. Buchanan, with a proportion of the baggage and servants, left Pegu on the 21st, to return to Rangoon; Mr. Wood and myself were ready to embark on the 26th. We went on board in the afternoon, attended by the *nakheen*, two inferior officers of government, and the public interpreter; the remainder of our domestics followed in a separate boat. The heavy rains that fell during the night incommoded the rowers; and retarded our progress; next morning the weather cleared up, but towards noon the sky again became overcast, and seemed to promise a stormy night. At two o'clock we reached a village on the east bank, called *Deesa;* at this place we found two commodious houses unoccupied, close to the river. Our boatmen being fatigued, and there appearing no probability of being able to reach Rangoon by the night's tide, I judged it most advisable to take up our quarters here until the morning.

'Making inquiries respecting what game the country produced, the *miou-gee*, or chief person of the village, told me that it abounded in various kinds, particularly deer; and that if I chose to walk out with my gun, he would be my guide, and undertake to shew me a herd of antelopes at no distance. I accepted the offer with pleasure; we went through the village, which did not contain more than 50 houses, comfortable in appearance, and well raised from the ground: the women and children flocked to their doors, and screamed with astonishment at seeing such a phænomenon as an English officer dressed in his uniform. Proceeding to the eastward, about a mile from the town, we came on an extensive plain, where the tall rank grass had been consumed by fire, to allow the growth of the more delicate shoots, as pasturage for the cattle. Here we soon discovered a herd of deer, but so watchful and wild, that I could not get near enough to fire a random shot from a rifle, which did not take effect. In

endeavouring to approach them unperceived, I left my servants and guide at a considerable distance, and took a circuit by myself, out of sight of my companions. A drove of buffaloes belonging to the villagers happened to be nigh at the time that I discharged my gun; alarmed at the noise, the whole troop raised their heads, and, instead of running away, seemed to stand on the defensive. I walked leisurely from them, when two came out of the herd, and, with their tails and heads erect, trotted towards me, not in a straight line, but making a half circle, as if afraid to advance; they were too nigh for me to think of escaping by flight, I therefore kept on at a moderate pace, in an oblique direction, stopping at times, with my face towards them, on which they also stood still, and looked at me; but when I resumed my way, they immediately advanced; in this circuitous manner one of them came so close that I felt my situation extremely awkward. I had reloaded my rifle whilst I walked, but reserved it for an extremity. As the beast approached, I stopped more frequently, which always checked his progress for a time; but he had now drawn so nigh, that I expected every instant to have a direct charge at me: fortunately the miou-gee from a distance discovered my situation; he hallooed out, and made signs by taking off his blue cotton jacket, holding it up in the air, and then throwing it down. I immediately comprehended his meaning, and, whilst I edged away, slipped off my scarlet coat, which I flung, together with my hat, into some long grass, where they lay concealed; the buffalo instantly desisted from the pursuit, and returned towards the herd, quietly grazing as he retired. This circumstance proves the buffalo entertains the same antipathy to the colour of red or scarlet that some other animals are known to do. The miou-gee, when I joined him, seemed quite as much alarmed as I was; he said, that if I had sustained any injury, his head would have paid the forfeit of the accident.

'Next morning before daylight we left Deesa with the first of the ebb; at 10 o'clock we reached Rangoon, and landed at our former dwelling below the town. Baba-Sheen, who had travelled all night, arrived about the same hour from Pegu.

'How much it is to be lamented, that the country we had just left, one of the fairest and most healthful on the globe, should remain, for the greater part, a solitary desert, whilst so many of the human race are condemned to languish away life in noxious regions, or extract, by incessant labour, a scanty subsistence from a barren soil. The natives of the adjacent islands of Nicobar, whose swollen limbs and diseased bodies evince the pestilential atmosphere they breathe, might here prove useful members of general society, live in the enjoyment of a salubrious climate, supply their own, and contribute to relieve the wants of others. But it must require a long and uninterrupted term of peace to renew the population of Pegu. Should it ever be so fortunate, there can be little doubt that Pegu will be numbered amongst the most flourishing and delightful countries of the east.'

Having reached Rangoon, the major again found himself treated with great formality and caution. The population of this place consists of about 30,000 people. It is increased from being an asylum for insolvent debtors. The *rhahaans*, or priests, are numerous. They live by begging, and receive the contributions of the laity ready cooked, as they hold it derogatory to perform any of the common functions of life.

Near the town is a village wholly inhabited by prostitutes. 'Prostitution,' says our author, 'in this, as in all other countries, is the ultimate resort of female wretchedness, but here it is often attended with circumstances of peculiar and unmerited misery. Many who follow this course of life are not at their own disposal, or receive the earnings of their unhappy profession; they are slaves sold by creditors to a licensed pander, for debts more frequently contracted by others, than by themselves. According to the laws of Pegu, he who incurs a debt which he cannot pay, becomes the property of his creditor, who may claim the insolvent debtor as his slave, and oblige him to perform menial service until he liquidates the debt; nor does the unhappy man always suffer in his own person alone, his immediate relatives are often included in the bond, and when that is the case, are liable to be attached and sold, to discharge the obligation.

The wretchedness into which this inhuman law plunges whole families is not to be described. Innocent women are often dragged from domestic comfort and happiness, and from the folly or misfortune of the master of the house, in which they perhaps have no blame, are sold to the licensed superintendant of the *tackally*, who, if they posses attractions, pays a high price for them, and reimburses himself by the wages of their prostitution.

'In their treatment of the softer sex the Birmans are destitute both of delicacy and humanity; they consider women as little superior to the brute stock of their farms. The lower class of Birmans make no scruple of selling their daughters, and even their wives, to foreigners who come to pass a temporary residence amongst them. It reflects no disgrace on any of the parties, and the woman is not dishonoured by the connexion.

'*Teak*, the most durable wood that is known, and best adapted for the construction of ships, is produced in the forests of the Birman and Pegu empires in inexhaustible abundance: and nature has done her part to render Rangoon the most flourishing seaport of the eastern world.

'There were at this time several ships from 600 to 1,000 tons burden on the stocks; one belonging to the maywoon of Pegu, about 900 tons, was considered by professional men as a specimen of excellent workmanship; it was entirely wrought by Birman carpenters, and formed on a French model, as are most of the ships built in this river, the Birmans having received their first rudiments of the art from that nation. Three or four vessels of burden were likewise in a state of forwardness, belonging to English adventurers, and one still larger than the rest, almost ready to be launched, the property of the governor of Maindu, the town on the opposite side. If this ship was not composed of prime materials, the building at least was well attended to; every morning the governor's wife crossed the river in her husband's barge, attended by two or three female servants; after landing she commonly took her seat on one of the timbers in the yard, and overlooked the workmen for some hours, after which she returned home,

and seldom missed coming back in the evening, to see that the day's task had been completed. Women in the Birman country are not only good housewives, but likewise manage the most important mercantile concerns of their husbands, and attend to their interest in all outdoor transactions: they are industrious to the greatest degree, and are said to be good mothers, and seldom, from inclination, unfaithful wives. If this be a true character, they meet with a most ungenerous return, for the men treat them as beings of a very subordinate order.

'Whilst we admired the structure and materials of these ships, we could not overlook the mode in which the work was executed, and the obvious merit of the artificers. In Bengal a native carpenter, though his business is commonly well done, yet in his manner of performing it, he excites the surprise and ridicule of Europeans; he cuts his wood with a diminutive adze, in a feeble and slow manner, and when he wants to turn a piece of timber, has recourse to a *coulee*, or labourer, that attends him; numbers there compensate for the want of individual energy; notwithstanding this, they finish what they undertake in a masterly manner. The Birman shipwrights are athletic men, and possess, in an eminent degree, that vigour which distinguishes Europeans, and gives them pre-eminence over the enervated natives of the east; nor do I imagine that the inhabitants of any country are capable of greater bodily exertion than the Birmans.'

At last the imperial mandate arrived, ordering the maywoon to accompany major Symes to the capital. On the 30th of May they departed in convenient boats. The navigation was found difficult, but the boatmen worked with great spirit and address. One boat was wrecked with the baggage, by the violence of the current. The major amused himself on the voyage with shooting. 'The Birmans,' says he, 'even the common boatmen, are fond of fowling to a degree of childish delight; sooner than not shoot they will fire at sparrows. I never was more importuned than by them for shot, which they do not know how to fabricate. No schoolboy could be more pleased than the *leedegee*, or steersman, of my boat,

when I one evening lent him a gun to shoot wild pigeons. In this, as well as many other particulars, their disposition is strikingly contrasted with the habits of apathy and indolence that characterize the natives of Asia in general.'

The party halted at a town named *Prome.* 'The buildings,' observes our narrator, 'were not remarkable; but though I saw little to notice, I found that I was myself an object of universal wonder: the singular appearance of an English officer dressed in uniform was a phænomenon perhaps never before seen in this part of the world. My attendants also created no little surprise; the dogs, numbers of which infested the streets, set up a horrid barking; the men gaped, the children followed me, and the women, as usual, expressed their astonishment by loud laughter, and clapping their hands; yet not the least indication of contempt was manifested, nor any thing done that could be construed into an intention to offend. Whichever way I turned, the crowd respectfully opened, and the most forward was restrained by others. The notice I took of a little girl, who was alarmed at our appearance, seemed to be very gratifying to the parents, and the mother encouraging her child, brought her close to me. Had I entered a house, I have no doubt but the owners would have offered me the best of what it contained. Kindness to strangers is equally the precept and the practice of Birmans.'

After a voyage up the river, which occupied nearly seven weeks, the major reached the environs of the capital. He had been met by a deputation, and had sailed during several days in a magnificent barge. Leaving Ava, the ancient metropolis, which is rapidly falling into decay, the river Irrawaddy bends to the northward, 'when,' says our author, 'the opposite city of *Chagain*, and the spires, the turrets, and the lofty *piasath* (the regal spire that distinguishes the dwelling of the monarch, and the temples of divinity,) of *Ummerapoora*, create an unexpected pleasure, and exhibit a fine contrast to the gloomy and deserted walls of Ava. Chagain, on the north side, once, too, the seat of imperial residence, is situated partly at the foot, and partly on the side, of a rugged hill that is broken into separate eminences, and on the summit of each stands a

spiral temple; these temples, rising irregularly one above another to the top of the mountain, form a beautiful assemblage of objects, the effect of which is increased by their being carefully whitewashed, and kept in repair. As we sailed near the opposite shore, the sun shone full upon the hill, and its reflected rays displayed the scenery to the highest advantage; in addition to this, the swollen state of the river gave to the waters the semblance of a vast lake, interspersed with islands, in which the foundations of Ummerapoora seemed to be immersed. Numberless boats were passing up and down, and the houses on the western, or rather southern shore, appeared, from their uninterrupted succession, to be a continued town, or suburbs of a city.

'At 12 o'clock we came to the mouth of the channel that communicates with the lake of *Tounzemahn*, through which it receives its waters from the river. The situation of Ummerapoora is fine: the southern face of the fort is washed, during the rainy season, by the waves of the lake, and the houses of the city and suburbs extend along the bank as far as the extreme point of land. Across the lake, and opposite to the fort, stands the small village of Tounzemahn, near which, in a tall grove of mango, palmyra, and cocoa-nut trees, a dwelling was prepared for the British deputation. On entering the lake, the number of boats that were moored, as in a harbour, to avoid the influence of the sweeping flood, the singularity of their construction, the height of the waters, which threaten inundation to the whole city, and the amphitheatre of lofty hills that nearly surrounded us, altogether presented a novel scene, exceedingly interesting to a stranger. We rowed towards the grove, whilst the greater part of the fleet went to the opposite side: on reaching the bank, I perceived a war-boat belonging to the maywoon of Pegu, who, I understood, was at the grove waiting our arrival. I was received on landing by Baba-Sheen, and some inferior officers; they accompanied me to the house, which was situated about 300 yards from the brink of the lake, overshadowed by lofty trees, that completely defended it from the meridian sun. When we came to the entrance of

the *virando*, or balcony, the maywoon of Pegu, the governor of Bamoo, a province bordering on China, and the *woondock* (second counsellor of state), welcomed me to the capital. Being seated on carpets spread along the floor, the conversation turned on general topics, and particularly on European geography, a subject on which the governor of Bamoo appeared very desirous of information. After some time, the woondock addressing himself to me, said, that his Birman majesty had been absent a few months, at a country residence named *Meengoung*, where he was erecting a magnificent temple to their divinity *Gaudma*, but was expected to return soon to Ummerapoora; that, in the mean time, instructions had been given to his ministers to provide every thing requisite for the accommodation of the English gentlemen, and that Baba-Sheen was commanded to reside near us, in order to supply our wants, and communicate our wishes: to this the maywoon of Pegu added, that the two inferior *serees*, or provincial under secretaries, who had accompanied us from Rangoon, were likewise directed to attend to our orders, and being persons to whom we were accustomed, would probably be more agreeable to us than entire strangers.

'These polite and hospitable attentions were received and acknowledged by me with real satisfaction; nor was it at all diminished by the freedom with which the woondock informed me, that it was contrary to the etiquette of the Birman court, for a public minister from a foreign nation to go abroad before his first audience. He therefore hoped I would not cross the lake in person, or suffer any of my people to do so, until the ceremonials were past; but as our customs differed from theirs, and the Europeans habituated themselves to take exercise, I was at full liberty to walk or ride in the country, or over the plains that lay between our dwelling and the hills, as far as I thought proper; recommending me at the same time, not to go to any great distance, as it would be considered by the common people in the light of a derogation from my consequence. I thanked him for his counsel, which was delivered with many expressions of civility, and readily acquiesced in what he assured me was an established custom.'

Major Symes's suite was plentifully supplied with provisions. Indeed, the Birmans, in this respect, behaved with great munificence. Here our author was amused by observing the solemn and affected manners of the persons that composed a Chinese deputation, from the province of Yunan, and the industry of the native Cassayers that inhabit the neighbourhood of the capital. 'They are,' says he, 'farmers and gardeners, who cultivate pulse, greens, onions, and such vegetables as Birmans use; these articles they transport at an early hour across the lake to the city, where they retail them in the market, and bring home the produce at night; this business is mostly performed by females; one man, commonly a person in years, accompanies each boat, in which, standing erect, he acts as steersman, whilst the women, usually from 10 to 14 in number, sitting with their legs across, row short oars, or use paddles, according to the size of the vessel: when they set out in a morning, they proceed in silence, but returning at night, they join in jocund chorus, and time the stroke of their oars to the bars of their song. We were serenaded every evening from dusk till 10 o'clock by successive parties of these joyous females, whose strains, though unpolished, were always melodious and pleasing. The Birmans, both men and women, are fond of singing whilst at work; it lightens their labour: "*song sweetens toil, how rude soe'er the sound.*" Unfortunately our music was not confined to these passing chantresses; there were other performers, less agreeable, nearer to us. Our neighbours, the deputies from China, unluckily for the repose of those from Britain, happened to be amatures in their way, and had amongst their dependents a select band of musicians, such as I certainly had never heard equalled; it is impossible to describe the horrible noises that issued from gongs, drums, cymbals, an instrument with two strings, which may be called a fiddle, and something like a clarionet, that sent forth a sound more grating to the ear than all the rest. This was their constant nocturnal amusement, which never ended before midnight, and was not once remitted, till the principal personage of the embassy became so indisposed, that he could endure it no longer. Whilst he lingered we enjoyed

tranquillity, but after his decease the concert recommenced, and continued, to our great annoyance, till they quitted the grove to return to their native country.

'In a few days the return of the king was announced by the discharge of rockets, and by the general bustle that so important an event caused among all classes of people: we saw nothing of the display, which we understood, on this occasion, was not at all pompous.

'The period of our arrival occurred at a juncture that supplied the Birman court with a plausible excuse for postponing the consideration of public business, and delaying my formal reception, as well as the delivery of the letter from the governor-general to the king. It so happened that in the ensuing month there was to be an eclipse of the moon, an operation of nature which they ascribe to the interference of a malignant demon. On such an occasion affairs of state, and all important matters of business, that will admit of procrastination, are put off to the following month. The astrologers were assembled to consult on the first fortunate day after the lapse of that inauspicious moon, when they discovered that the 17th of the month *Touzelien*, corresponding with the 30th of August, was the earliest that would occur, and that day was accordingly appointed for the public reception of the English embassy.'

But this delay was occasioned as much by caution and policy as superstition. However, Mr. Wood was permitted to make his astronomical observations, and the Bengal draughtsman acquired great reputation by his botanical drawings. The king was pleased to desire a specimen of his skill, and sent over a painting on glass, executed by a Siamese artist in his own service, signifying his royal will that it should be copied upon paper. This picture, which was a tolerable performance, represented the method of catching wild elephants in the forests.—The hunters, mounted on tame elephants that are trained to the business, by lying flat on their backs, introduce themselves unnoticed into a wild herd, and take an opportunity to cast a running noose in the track of one that is meant to be secured. The other end of the rope is fastened

to the body of the tame elephant, who immediately throws the wild one down; a battle then ensues, in which the trained elephant, being assisted by its associates, soon overpowers the inhabitant of the woods, who is deserted by all the others; it is afterwards borne away a prisoner, fast bound to two of its captors, whilst another moves on at its head, and a fourth urges it behind. In a few weeks, by proper discipline, the animal becomes docile, and submits to its fate. Those that are taken in this manner are for the most part females. Male elephants are usually enticed by the blandishments of females, trained for the purpose, into an inclosure or *keddah*, from whence they cannot extricate themselves, and are easily secured.

The English embassy during this time enjoyed good health, while a general sickness prevailed amongst the Chinese. 'The governor of Bamoo,' says major Symes, 'explained the matter very sensibly, by observing, that the sickness under which they alone laboured, entirely originated in their own indolence, and in the pernicious diet they used. The Chinese are said to be nationally great lovers of swine's flesh, and these personages possessed all the partiality of their country for that unclean animal; they had erected a pigsty within the inclosure of their dwelling, where they fed pork for their own table, and, as a matter of compliment, sometimes sent a joint of meat to me; but though it seemed to be good, we could not bring ourselves to use it. In addition to the ill effects of such gross food, they took no exercise, and drank immoderately of *shouchow*, a fiery and deleterious spirit. The governor of Bamoo, who accounted for the cause of their ailment, condemned their sensuality, which, he said, he had in vain endeavoured to correct by advice and persuasion.

'On the 29th of August, the day preceding that of our formal introduction, I received a message, desiring to know what number of attendants I meant to take with me, and to specify the rank they bore, particularly that of the pundit, the monshee, and the painter. I was at the same time acquainted, that it was not customary to admit armed men into the palace, a form to which I readily assented. Late in

the evening another message was brought to inform me, that the profession of Dr. Buchanan was held by the Birmans in a less dignified estimation than it bore among us; and that it was unusual, on such solemn occasions, to receive a person of his station into the *lotoo*, or great council hall. I took some pains to vindicate the dignity of the liberal and enlightened profession of medicine, and explained to them, that there was no monarch of Europe who did not consider a physician as worthy to hold a place in the most distinguished ranks of society. This difficulty was at last conquered; they agreed to receive the doctor, but stipulated that he should ride on horseback in the procession, and not be indulged with an elephant, a privilege which, they said, was granted only to persons of the highest consequence.

'Preparatory to our visit, the presents intended for his majesty were carefully assorted, and put into separate boxes: they were both handsome and costly, consisting of various kinds of European and Indian articles, such as mirrors, cut-glass, fire-arms, broad cloths, embroidered muslins, and Indian silks, all of the finest quality that could be procured; among other things there was a Sanscrit manuscript, superbly illumined, and written with beautiful minuteness; it was a copy of the *Bagwaat Geeta*, inclosed in a case of gold, and designed as a personal compliment from sir John Shore, the governor-general, to his Birman majesty: there was also an electrical machine, of the effects of which some of the Birmans were not ignorant. The boxes were covered with red satin, and fastened to poles, for the convenience of being carried on men's shoulders. Every matter was arranged on the day before the ceremony was to take place.

'On the 30th of August we took an early breakfast, and about eight o'clock a *sere-dogee*, or secretary of the lotoo, came to acquaint us that boats were prepared to convey us across the lake. Our domestics had received orders to hold themselves in readiness, dressed in the livery of the embassy, and the guard was paraded without arms. The presents having been sent before, we walked to the water side, attended by Baba-Sheen, the sere-dogee, and several inferior officers;

at the same time the two junior members of the Chinese mission, the senior one being now at the point of death, came forth from the gate of their enclosure, attended by a retinue comparatively very small. We found three war-boats at the bank ready to receive us; these boats were sufficiently capacious for the number they were destined to contain: the largest was of 50 oars, but they were not above one-third manned, probably with a view to our accommodation, as the vessels are so narrow, that persons unaccustomed to them cannot sit between the rowers without inconvenience: it did not, however, escape our notice, that they were quite plain, without either gilding or paint. We were about 20 minutes in rowing to the opposite side of the lake, and found a crowd of people collected near the water's edge to see us land. The place where we landed appeared to be nearly a mile, in a direct line, below the fort, the southern walls of which were washed by the lake when the waters are swollen. Three elephants and several horses were waiting to convey us, and some Birman officers of inferior consequence attended at the bank, dressed in their robes and caps of ceremony. The furniture of the animals we were to ride was far from being superb. Men of rank in the Birman empire always guide their own elephants, and sit on the neck, in the same manner that the drivers, or *mohaats*, do in India: owing to this custom they are unprovided with those commodious seats in which an Indian gentleman reposes at ease on the back of this noble beast, whilst the government of it is entrusted to another person. A large wicker basket, somewhat resembling the body of an open carriage, but smaller, without an elevated seat, and covered with carpets at the bottom, was fastened on the back of the elephant by means of iron chains that passed under his belly, and were prevented from chafing him by tanned ox hides. This equipage was neither comfortable nor elegant; but as I had not learned how to manage an elephant, and ride between his ears, there was no alternative; I was obliged either to take what was provided, or submit to a less dignified conveyance. The drivers, instead of making the beast kneel down to receive his rider, as is the custom in other countries,

drove him up to a temporary stage that had been erected for the purpose of mounting. Each of the Chinese deputies was also honoured with an elephant. Mr. Wood and Dr. Buchanan rode on handsome spirited horses, of the small Pegu breed, which had been prepared for them, and were equipped with much better furniture than was assigned to the elephants. The Birman saddles, however, not being well calculated for the ease of an European rider, two of English manufacture, which we had brought with us, were substituted in their stead. The moonshee, the pundit, and the painter, were likewise permitted to ride on horseback.

'The servants of the embassy walked on each side, two by two; and a number of constables attended, with long white rods, to keep off the populace.

'The procession being arranged, we commenced our march, keeping a moderate pace, so as not to distress the bearers of the presents. After proceeding a short way, we entered a wide and handsome street, that was paved with brick: the houses on each side were low, built of wood, and covered with tiles; they had been evidently prepared for the occasion, being fresh whitewashed, and decorated with boughs and flowers; the shops, which are usually open towards the street, displayed their best goods. In front of each house was a slight latticed railing of bamboo, advanced into the street, to the distance of three or four feet; over this space was spread a shade of bamboo mats, that reached from the eaves of the houses to the railing, forming a sort of covered balcony, every one of which was crowded with spectators, men and women indiscriminately. Boys sat on the tops of the houses, and the streets were so thronged as to leave only a sufficient space for the procession to move without interruption; but what rendered the scene most remarkable was, the posture which the multitude preserved; every person, as soon as we came in sight, squatted on his hams, and continued in that attitude until we had passed by: this was an indication of high respect. Throughout the crowd there was no disturbance or any extraordinary noise; the populace looked up and gazed in silence, nor did they attempt to follow us, but were satisfied

with a transient view. The *pagwaats*, or constables, armed with long rods, sometimes affected to strike those who were most forward, in order to make them recede; but in this act they humanely avoided hurting any one, generally directing the blow to the ground close to those whom they intended to remove. Thus we passed through several wide streets, running in a straight direction, and often crossed by others at right angles. We perceived only two brick houses, and these we were informed belonged to foreigners. Contiguous to the fort was a small street, entirely occupied by the shops of silversmiths, who exhibited their wares in the open balcony, and displayed a great variety of Birman utensils in plate. The distance from the landing-place to this street we computed to be two miles.

'Immediately after we crossed the ditch of the fort, which was wide, deep, and faced with brick, but had little water in it: the passage was over a causeway formed on a mound of earth, in which there was a chasm of about 10 feet to carry off the rain, and across this a strong bridge of planks was laid. The fort altogether, considered as an eastern fortification, was respectable, but insufficient to resist the approaches of an enemy skilled in the science of war. The Birmans, however, believe it to be impregnable; they put their trust in the height and solidity of their wall, which they conceive to be strong enough to resist all assaults, independent of the cover of a glacis, or any other advanced work than the ditch. I did not attempt to mortify their pride by telling them a disagreeable truth, that a battery of half a dozen cannon would, in a few hours, reduce their walls to a heap of ruins; and, indeed, if I had told them so, it is probable they might not have credited the information.

'It was now about 10 o'clock, and the woondock intimated that we must wait until all the princes of the royal family arrived, before it would be proper for us to enter: and we had sat but a short time, when the prince of Pegahm, the junior of the king's sons, in point of rank though not in years, being born of a different mother, made his appearance. He was mounted on the neck of a very fine elephant, which he

guided himself, sitting on a scarlet cloth embroidered with gold, whilst a servant behind, on the back of the animal, screened him from the sun with a gilded parasol. About 50 musketeers led the way; these were followed by a number of halberdiers, carrying spears with gilded shafts, and decorated with gold tassels. Six or eight officers of his household (each of the king's sons have a separate establishment) came next, dressed in velvet robes with embroidered caps, and chains of gold depending from the left shoulder to the right side; these immediately preceded the prince's elephant: another body of spearman, with his palanquin of state, closed the procession. On entering the gate, he gave to one of his attendants a polished iron hook, with which he governed his elephant; as not any thing that can be used as a weapon is suffered to be brought within the precincts of the palace, not even by his majesty's sons. The prince's escort halted without the gate, and the greater number of his attendants were stopped, those only being admitted who were of higher rank, together with the men who carried his large betle-box of gold, and his flaggon of water, which are brought rather for state than for refreshment. When the prince had alighted, his elephant returned, and all the attendants ranged themselves in the area between the *rhoom* (which was a lofty hall) and the palace gate. Soon after the prince of Pegahm had entered, the prince of Tongho, the next in precedence, appeared; he was attended by a suite nearly similar to that of his brother; and in succession came the princes of Bassein and of Prome: the *engy teekien*, or heir apparent, came last; when he arrived it was 12 o'clock, which, the great drum, that proclaims the hours, sounded from a lofty tower near the palace. The state in which the latter personage made his public entrance was highly superb, and becoming his elevated station. He was preceded by a numerous body guard of infantry, consisting of 400 or 500 men, armed with muskets, who marched in regular files, and were uniformly clothed and accoutred; next came a party of Cassay troopers, habited in their fanciful dress, and high conical caps bending backwards. We were told that through respect they had alighted from their horses

nearly at the same place where he had dismounted: 20 or 30 men followed these, holding long gilded wands; then came 18 or 20 military officers of rank, with gilded helmets; next the civil officers of his household and his council, wearing the *tzaloe*, or chain of nobility, and arrayed in their robes and caps of state, varied according to their respective ranks. The prince, borne on men's shoulders, in a very rich palanquin, but without any canopy, followed; he was screened from the sun by a large gilded fan, supported by a nobleman, and on each side of his palanquin walked six Cassay astrologers, of the Braminical sect, dressed in white gowns and white caps, studded with stars of gold; close behind, his servants carried his water-flaggon, and a gold betle-box, of a size which appeared to be no inconsiderable load for a man. Several elephants and led horses with rich housings came after; some inferior officers, and a body of spearmen, with three companies of musketeers, one clothed in blue, another in green, and a third in red, concluded the procession.

'In every part of this ostentatious parade perfect regularity was maintained, which considerably increased the effect. All things seemed to have been carefully predisposed and properly arranged. If it was less splendid than imperial Delhi, in the days of Mogul magnificence, it was far more decorous than any court of Hindostan at the present day. The rabble was not tumultuous, the attendants and soldiery were silent, and every man seemed to know his own place. No noisy heralds, as is the custom in India, ran before, vociferating titles, and overturning people in their way. The display of this day was solemn and dignified, and I doubt much whether, in any other capital, such multitudes could be brought together with so little confusion; as, besides the attendants and the military, there were many thousands of spectators.

'A few minutes after the *engy teekien*, or prince royal, had entered, we received a summons, in compliance with which we proceeded from the rhoom. On entering the gate, the greater part of our attendants were stopped, and not permitted to follow us; and we were desired to put off our shoes, with which we immediately complied.

The area we now entered was spacious, and contained the *lotoo*, or grand hall of consultation and of audience, where the *woongees* (or the first counsellors of state) meet in council, and where affairs of state are discussed and determined. Within this inclosure there is an inner court, separated by a brick wall, which comprehends the palace, and all the buildings annexed to the royal residence. Within the gate a troop of tumblers were performing their feats, while dancing girls were exhibiting their graces in the open air, and on the bare ground, to the sound of no very harmonious music. We were next ushered up a flight of stairs into a very noble saloon, or open hall, called the lotoo, where the court was assembled in all the pomp that Birman grandeur could display. On entering this hall, a stranger cannot fail to be surprised at the magnificence of its appearance; it is supported by 77 pillars, disposed in 11 rows, each consisting of seven. The space between the pillars I judged to be about 12 feet, except the central row, which was probably two feet wider. The roof of the building is composed of distinct stages, the highest in the centre. The row of pillars that supported the middle, or most lofty roof, we judged to be 35 or 40 feet in height; the others gradually diminish as they approach the extremities of the building, and those which sustain the balcony are not more than 12 or 14 feet. At the farther part of the hall there is a high gilded lattice, extending quite across the building, and in the centre of the lattice is a gilded door, which, when opened, displays the throne; this door is elevated five or six feet from the floor, so that the throne must be ascended by means of steps at the back, which are not visible, nor is the seat of the throne to be seen, except when the king comes in person to the lotoo. At the bottom of the lattice there is a gilt balustrade, three or four feet high, in which the umbrellas and several other insignia of state were deposited. The royal colour is white, and the umbrellas were made of silk of that colour, richly bespangled with gold. Within this magnificent saloon were seated, on their inverted legs, all the princes and the principal nobility of the Birman empire, each person in the place appropriated to his particular rank and station:

proximity to the throne is, of course, the most honourable situation; and this station was occupied by the princes of the blood, the woongees, the attawoons, and great officers of state. The engy teekien (heir apparent) sat on a small stool, about six inches high; the other princes on fine mats. The space between the central pillars that front the throne, is always left vacant, for this curious reason, that his majesty's eyes may not be obliged to behold those whom he does not mean to honour with a look.

'After we had taken possession of mats that had been spread for us, it was civilly intimated that we ought not to protrude the soles of our feet towards the seat of majesty, but should endeavour to sit in the posture that was observed by those around us. With this desire we would readily have complied, if it had been in our power, but we had not yet learned to sit upon our own legs: the flexibility of muscles which the Birmans, and indeed all the natives of India, possess, is such, as cannot be acquired by Europeans. A Birman, when he sits, seldom touches the seat with his posteriors, but is supported by his heels. It is scarcely practicable for an European, dressed in close garments, to place himself in such an attitude; and if he were able, it would be out of his power to continue long in it. We inverted our legs as much as possible, and the awkwardness with which we did this excited a smile from some; not a word, however, was uttered, and our endeavours, I thought, seemed to give satisfaction. In a few minutes eight Bramins, dressed in white sacerdotal gowns, and silk caps of the same colour, studded with gold, assembled round the foot of the throne, within the balustrade, and recited a long prayer in not unpleasing recitative; this ceremony lasted a quarter of an hour. When they had withdrawn, the letter from the governor-general, which I delivered to a woondock (second counsellor of state), was placed on a silver tray in front of the railing, and a *sandohgaan*, or reader, advanced into the vacant space, and made three prostrations, touching the ground each time with his forehead; he then read, or rather chanted, in a loud voice, what I understood was a Birman translation of the letter. When this was done, the reader repeated his

prostrations, and next proclaimed a list of the presents for the king. These several readings being finished, he repeated his obeisance and retired: after an interval of a few minutes, an officer, entitled *nakhaangee*, advanced, and proposed a question to me, as if from his majesty; on receiving my answer he withdrew, as it might be supposed, to communicate the reply; and returned in an adequate time to ask another: thus he put three separate questions to me which were as follows: "You come from a distant country; how long is it since you arrived? How were the king, queen, and the royal family of England, when the last accounts came from thence? Was England at peace or war with other nations? and was your country in a state of disturbance?"

'In a few minutes after my last reply had been conveyed, a very handsome dessert was brought in, and set before us; it consisted of a variety of sweetmeats, as well China as Birman; *læpack*, or pickled tea-leaf, and betle, formed part of the entertainment, which were served up in silver, China, and glass-wares: there appeared to be not less than a hundred different small dishes: we tasted of a few, and found some of them very palatable; but none of the courtiers partook, or moved fom their places. About half an hour had elapsed, when we were informed by the sandohgaan that there was no occasion for us to remain any longer. The non-appearance of his majesty was a considerable disappointment, as I had been taught to expect that he would have received the governor-general's letter in person: it was not, however, until some time afterwards, that I was made acquainted with the true reason of his absence.

'When we rose to leave the lotoo, the sandohgaan desired us to make three obeisances to the throne, by a slight inclination of the body and raising the right hand to the head; we were then reconducted to the saloon, where we were informed it was necessary we should remain until the princes came forth from the palace, and had got upon their elephants, as their etiquette did not allow any person, on such occasions, to mount before the members of the royal family; we accordingly took

our places in this hall as before: shortly after the court broke up with as much form and parade as it had assembled.

While major Symes was gratified with the splendour of the court, he was justly offended at the little artifices used in order to gratify the arrogance of the Birmans. On complaining, however, he received assurances of respect, and that care would be taken not to offend again. On the next day he visited the heir apparent; and, on the same day, was gratified with an audience by the mother of the principal queen, a thing uncommon among the jealous nations of the east. 'At the bottom of the stairs,' says our author, 'we put off our shoes, and ascended into a handsome hall, supported by several lofty pillars; at the farther end a portion of the floor was elevated six or eight inches, and separated by a neat balustrade from the rest of the room; within this space, under a white canopy, was placed a large cushion of blue velvet fringed with gold, on a carpet covered with muslin. There was a numerous assemblage of both sexes, but particularly women, sitting round the balustrade. As soon as we entered, a space was immediately vacated for us to occupy, in front of the door and opposite to the cushion. After we had been seated a few minutes, the old lady came forth from an inner apartment, and walked slowly towards the elevated seat, supported by two female servants, whilst another held up her train; her long white hair hung loose upon her shoulders, but she wore neither covering nor ornament upon her head; her dress, which was extremely fine, without being gaudy, became her advanced years and high dignity; it consisted of a long robe of white muslin, and over her shoulders was thrown a sash of gauze, embroidered with sprigs of gold. She advanced to where the cushion was placed, and took her seat on the carpet, supporting her head on her arm that rested on the pillow, whilst the two female attendants, neatly dressed, kneeling, one on each side, fanned her with long gilded fans. Every person seemed to pay her profound respect, and when she entered, both men and women bent their bodies in the attitude of submission. I had brought, as a token of my veneration,

a string of pearl and some fine muslin. The sandohgaan announced the offering, and enumerated the articles with a loud voice, entreating, in my name, her gracious acceptance of them. She looked at the English gentlemen with earnestness, but seemed entirely to disregard the Chinese, although their dress was much more showy than ours: her manners was on this occasion extremely complaisant, and she asked several questions, such as, what were our names? how we were in health? what were our ages? on being informed, she obligingly said she would pray that we might attain as great longevity as herself; adding, that she had reached her 72d year. I did not perceive, amongst the numerous company that attended, any of the junior princes, or of the principal ministers, although there were several personages of distinction. After she had retired, a very handsome dessert was served up: the fruits and preserves were delicious: whatever China could yield, was united with the produce of their own country. Having tasted of various dishes, we withdrew without any ceremony; and as none of the royal family were present, there was no necessity to delay our departure: we accordingly returned home, a good deal oppressed by the heat of the weather, and wearied by the repetition of tedious formalities.'

The major next visited the other members of the royal family, by all of whom he was entertained in the most handsome and liberal manner. After this he visited the different curiosities of the capital. In the imperial library the books were deposited in elegant chests. 'They were regularly classed,' says our author, 'and the contents of each were written in gold letters on the lid. The librarian opened two, and shewed me some very beautiful writing on thin leaves of ivory, the margins of which were ornamented with flowers of gold, neatly executed. I saw also some books written in the ancient Palli, the religious text. Every thing seemed to be arranged with perfect regularity, and I was informed that there were books upon divers subjects; more on divinity than on any other; but history, medicine, music, painting, and romance, had their separate treatises. The volumes were disposed under distinct heads, regularly numbered; and if

all the other chests were as well filled, as those that were submitted to our inspection, it is not improbable, that his Birman majesty may possess a more numerous library than any potentate from the banks of the Danube to the borders of China.'

Our ambassador likewise visited the high priest, whose residence is described to exceed in size and splendour any similar building in the universe. 'The numerous rows of pillars,' says he, 'some of them 60 feet high, all of which were covered with burnished gilding, had a wonderfully splendid effect: it would be difficult to convey, either in language or by pencil, an adequate description of this extraordinary edifice. The boundless expenditure of gilding on parts exposed to the weather, as well as in the inside, cannot fail to impress a stranger with astonishment, at the richness of the decoration, although he may not approve of the taste with which it is disposed: I could not have formed in my imagination a display more strikingly magnificent.'

At this time news arrived at the Birman court, through the channel of some Frenchmen, that the affairs of England were in a desperate state. This intelligence operated powerfully on the Birman court, which began to treat major Symes with the most marked haughtiness, as the representative of a provincial governor: but the British ambassador acted with great judgment and spirit, and remonstrated in such a style that the ministers were alarmed, and he was promised the honour of an audience of his Birman majesty. His introduction is thus described:

'Having entered the gate, we perceived the royal saloon of ceremony in front of us, and the court assembled in all the parade of pomp and decoration. It was an open hall, supported by colonnades of pillars 20 in length, and only four in depth: we were conducted into it by a flight of steps, and advancing, took our places next the space opposite to the throne, which is always left vacant, as being in full view of his majesty. On our entrance, the basement of the throne, as at the lotoo, was alone visible, which we judged to be about five feet high; folding doors screened the seat from our

view. The throne, called *yazapalay*, was richly gilded and carved; on each side a small gallery, inclosed by a gilt balustrade, extended a few feet on the right and left, containing four umbrellas of state; and on two tables, at the foot of the throne, were placed several large vessels of gold, of various forms and for different purposes: immediately over the throne, a splendid piasath rose in seven stages above the roofs of the building, crowned by a tee, or umbrella, from which a spiral rod was elevated above the whole.

'We had been seated a little more than a quarter of an hour, when the folding doors that concealed the seat, opened with a loud noise, and discovered his majesty ascending a flight of steps, that led up to the throne from the inner apartment; he advanced but slowly, and seemed not to possess a free use of his limbs, being obliged to support himself with his hands on the balustrade. I was informed, however, that this appearance of weakness did not proceed from any bodily infirmity, but from the weight of the regal habiliments in which he was clad; and if what we were told was true, that he carried on his dress 15 *viss*, upwards of 50 lbs. avoirdupois weight of gold, his difficulty of ascent was not surprising. On reaching the top he stood for a minute, as though to take breath, and then sat down on an embroidered cushion with his legs inverted. His crown was a high conical cap, richly studded with precious stones; his fingers were covered with rings, and in his dress he bore the appearance of a man cased in golden armour, whilst a gilded, or probably a golden, wing on each shoulder, did not add much lightness to his figure. His looks denoted him to be between 50 or 60 years old, of a strong make, in stature rather beneath a middle height, with hard features and of a dark complexion; yet the expression of his countenance was not unpleasing, and seemed, I thought, to indicate an intelligent and inquiring mind.

'On the first appearance of his majesty, all the courtiers bent their bodies, and held their hands joined in an attitude of supplication. Nothing farther was required of us, than to lean a little forward, and to turn in our legs as much as we

could; not any act being so unpolite, or contrary to etiquette, as to present the soles of the feet towards the face of a dignified person. Four Bramins dressed in white caps and gowns, chanted the usual prayer at the foot of the throne: a nakhaan then advanced into the vacant space before the king, and recited in a musical cadence, the name of each person who was to be introduced on that day, and the present of which, in the character of a suppliant, he entreated his majesty's acceptance. My offering consisted of two pieces of Benares gold brocade; doctor Buchanan and Mr. Wood each presented one. When our names were mentioned, we were separately desired to take a few grains of rice in our hands, and joining them, to bow to the king as low as we conveniently could, with which we immediately complied. When this ceremony was finished, the king uttered a few indistinct words, to convey, as I was informed, an order for investing some persons present, with the insignia of a certain degree of nobility: the imperial mandate was instantly proclaimed aloud by heralds in the court. His majesty remained only a few minutes longer, and during that time he looked at us attentively, but did not honour us with any verbal notice, or speak at all, except to give the order before mentioned. When he rose to depart he manifested the same signs of infirmity as on his entrance; after he had withdrawn, the folding doors were closed, and the court broke up.

'In descending, we took notice of two pieces of cannon, apparently 9-pounders, which were placed in the court, on either side of the stairs, to defend the entrance of the palace. Sheds protected them from the weather, and they were gilded all over: a royal carriage also was in waiting, of curious workmanship, and ornamented with a royal spire; there was a pair of horses harnessed to it, whose trappings glistened in the sun.'

The letter of his Birman majesty to the governor-general ratified immunities of considerable importance to British merchants. The object of the embassy being thus obtained, major Symes prepared to depart. Previous to his departure, his Birman majesty, with great liberality, presented the

ambassador with a splendid history of the Birman kings and of the code of laws, requesting, in return, certain religious books written in the Sanscrit language.

'On the 29th of October, the maywoon of Pegu visited me,' says the major (who was now ready to depart), 'in a very handsome war-boat gilded to the water's edge, accompanied by several others that were plain; he invited me on board, and we took our seats on the prow, which, in Birman boats, is always the place of dignity. When we left the shore, the whole fleet pushed off and followed us; the morning was fine, and the water smooth, whilst the spires of Ummerapoora in our stern, the white temples and lofty hills of Chagaing opposite, and the fort of ancient Ava below, formed a very cheerful prospect.' The river where the major embarked was at least one mile wide. During the voyage he was treated with great kindness and attention.

'On the 15th of November, at nine o'clock at night,' says our narrator, 'we anchored below the town of Panlang, being unable to stem the tide; and at 11 my people hailed a strange boat coming with the flood, that rowed towards us. Instantly I heard an European voice, to which I had not of late been accustomed, and soon recognized that of captain Thomas, of the Sea-horse. I had sent an express when we were at Meeaday, to apprize him of our approach, and desire him to get ready for sea; he had learned from a small vessel that we were at hand, and came thus far to meet us. It being impossible to sleep, we passed the night in conversation; the account he gave of his treatment by the municipal government of Rangoon during my absence, and of the conduct of the Birmans in general towards his crew, was perfectly satisfactory. He had unrigged his ship during the monsoon, and covered the decks with an awning of mats, as a protection against the weather. Being in possession of a tolerably commodious house near the quay, he obligingly offered me a room in it; of this I availed myself, having no intention to remain at Rangoon longer than absolutely necessary, and hoped to limit my stay to a very few days. At midnight we got under way, and on the morning of the 15th of November, landed at Rangoon.

'During the time that the English deputation was at Ummerapoora, captain Thomas witnessed at Rangoon, a remarkable instance of a trial by the ordeal of water, the circumstances of which he thus related to me: Two women of the middling class litigated a small property before the court of justice, and as the judges found great difficulty in deciding the question of right, it was at last agreed, by mutual consent, to put the matter to the issue of an ordeal. The parties, attended by the officers of the court, several rhahaans, or priests, and a vast concourse of people, repaired to a *tank*, or pond, in the vicinity of the town. After praying to the rhahaans for some time, and performing certain purificatory ceremonials, the litigants entered the pond, and waded in it till the water reached their breasts; they were accompanied by two or three men, one of whom placing the women close to each other, and putting a board on their heads, at a signal given, pressed upon the board till he immersed them both at the same instant. They remained out of sight about a minute and a half, when one of them, nearly suffocated, raised her head, whilst the other continued to sit upon her hams at the bottom, but was immediately lifted up by the men; after which an officer of the court solemnly pronounced judgment in her favour, and of the justice of this decision none of the bystanders appeared to entertain the smallest doubt, from the infallibility of the proof which had been given.'

Major Symes was industrious in obtaining information upon every subject of importance relative to this great and singular people. The substance of his remarks we will give as briefly as possible.

Religion.—The Birmans are Hindoos: not votaries of Brama, but sectaries of Boodh, which latter is admitted by Hindoos of all descriptions to be the 9th Avatar, or descent of the deity in his capacity of preserver. He reformed the doctrines contained in the Vedas, and severely censured the sacrifice of cattle, or depriving any being of life: he is called the author of happiness: his place of residence was discovered at Gaya in Bengal, by the illustrious Amara, renowned amongst men, 'who caused an image of the supreme Boodh

to be made, and he worshipped it: reverence be unto thee in the form of Boodh; reverence be unto thee, Lord of the Earth; reverence be unto thee, an incarnation of the deity; and, eternal one, reverence be unto thee, O God in the form of Mercy.'

Gotma, or Goutum, according to the Hindoos of India, or Gaudma, among the inhabitants of the more eastern parts, is said to have been a philosopher, and is by the Birmans believed to have flourished above 2,300 years ago: he taught, in the Indian schools, the heterodox religion and philosophy of Boodh. The image that represents Boodh is called Gaudma, or Goutum, which is now a commonly received appellation of Boodh himself: this image is the primary object of worship in all countries separated between Bengal and China. The sectaries of Boodh contend with those of Brama for the honour of antiquity, and are certainly far more numerous.

It would be as unsatisfactory as tedious to attempt leading our reader though the mazes of mythological fable, and extravagant allegory, in which the Hindoo religion, both Braminical and Boodhic, is enveloped and obscured; it may be sufficient to observe, that the Birmans believe in the metempsychosis, and that, after having undergone a certain number of transmigrations, their souls will at last either be received into their Olympus on the mountain Meru, or be sent to suffer torments in a place of divine punishments. Mercy they hold to be the first attribute of the divinity: 'Reverence be to thee, O God, in the form of Mercy;' and they worship God by extending mercy unto all his creatures.

Laws.—The laws of the Birmans, like their religion, are Hindoo; in fact there is no separating their laws from their religion: divine authority revealed to Menu the sacred principles in 100,000 *slocas*, or verses; Menu promulgated the code; numerous commentaries on Menu were composed by the *munis*, or old philosophers, whose treatises constitute the *dherma sastra*, or body of laws.

The criminal jurisprudence of the Birmans is lenient in particular cases, but rigorous in others; whoever is found

guilty of an undue assumption of power, or of any crime that indicates a treasonable intent, is punished by the severest tortures. The first commission of theft does not incur the penalty of death, unless the amount stolen be above 800 *kiat*, or *tackal*, about 100*l.*, or attended with circumstances of atrocity, such as murder or mutilation. In the former case the culprit has a round mark imprinted on each cheek by gunpowder and punctuation, and on his breast the word thief, with the article stolen; for the second offence he is deprived of an arm, but the third inevitably produces capital punishment: decapitation is the mode by which criminals suffer, in the performance of which the Birman executioners are exceedingly skilful.

Court.—There is no country of the east in which the royal establishment is arranged with more minute attention than in the Birman court; it is splendid without being wasteful, and numerous without confusion. In the Birman government there are no hereditary dignities or employments; all honours and offices, on the demise of the possessor, revert to the crown.

Dress.—The court dress of the Birman nobility is very becoming; it consists of a long robe either of flowered satin or velvet, reaching to the ankles, with an open collar and loose sleeves; over this there is a scarf, or flowing mantle, that hangs from the shoulders, and on their heads they wear high caps made of velvet, either plain, or of silk embroidered with flowers of gold, according to the rank of the wearer. Ear-rings are a part of female dress; persons of condition use tubes of gold about three inches long, and as thick as a large quill, which expands at one end like the mouth of a speaking-trumpet; others wear a heavy mass of gold beaten into a plate, and rolled up; this lump of metal forms a large orifice in the lobe of the ear, and drags it down by the weight to the extent sometimes of two inches. The women likewise have their distinguishing paraphernalia; their hair is tied in a bunch on the top of the head, and bound round with a fillet, the embroidery and ornaments of which express their respective ranks; a short shift reaches to the pit of the stomach, is drawn tight by strings, and supports the breasts; over that is a loose

jacket with close sleeves; round their waist they roll a long piece of silk, or cloth, which, reaching to their feet, and sometimes trailing on the ground, encircles them twice, and is then tucked in. When women of condition go abroad they put on a silk sash, resembling a long shawl, which crosses their bosom, and is thrown over the shoulders, gracefully flowing on each side. The lowest class of females often wear only a single garment, in the form of a sheet, which, wrapped round the body, and tucked in under the arm, crosses their breasts, which it scarcely conceals, and descends to their ankles; thus, when they walk, the bottom of the cloth, where it overlaps, is necessarily opened by the protrusion of the leg, and displays to a side view as high as the middle of the thigh; such an exposure, in the opinion of an European, bears an indecent appearance, although it excites no such idea in themselves.

Women, in full dress, stain the palms of their hands, and their nails, of a red colour, for which they use a vegetable juice, and strew on their bosoms powder of sandal wood, or of a bark called *sunneka*, with which some rub their faces. Both men and women tinge the edges of their eyelids and their teeth with black; this latter operation gives to their mouths a very unseemly appearance in the eyes of an European, which is not diminished by their being constantly filled with betle leaf. Men of rank wear, in common dress, a tight coat, with long sleeves made of muslin, or extremely fine nankin, which is manufactured in the country, also a silk wrapper that encircles the waist: the working class are usually naked to the middle, but in the cold season a mantle or vest of European broad cloth is highly prized.

Persons.—The Birmans in their features bear a nearer resemblance to the Chinese than to the natives of Hindostan. The women, especially in the northern part of the empire, are fairer than Hindoo females, but not so delicately formed; they are, however, well made, and in general inclined to corpulence: their hair is black, coarse, and long. The men are not tall in stature, but active and athletic; they have a very youthful appearance, from the custom of plucking their

beards instead of using the razor. They tattoo their thighs and arms into various fantastic shapes and figures, which they believe operate as a charm against the weapons of their enemies. Neither the men nor women are so cleanly in their persons as the Hindoos of India, among whom diurnal ablution is a religious as well as moral duty. Girls are taught at an early age to turn their arms in such a manner as to make them appear distorted: when the arm is extended the elbow is inverted, the inside of the joint being protruded, and the external part bending inwards.

Marriages.—Among the Birmans marriages are not contracted until the parties attain the age of puberty: the contract is purely civil; the ecclesiastical jurisdiction having nothing to do with it. The law prohibits polygamy, and recognizes but one wife, who is denominated *Mica;* concubinage, however, is admitted to an unlimited extent. A man may repudiate his wife under particular circumstances, but the process is attended with a heavy expence. Concubines, living in the same house with the legitimate wife, are, by law, obliged to perform menial services for her, and when she goes abroad they attend her, bearing her water-flaggon, betle-box, fan, &c. When a husband dies, his concubines, if bound in servitude to him, become the property of the surviving widow, unless he shall have emancipated them by a specific act, previous to his decease.

Population.—Major Symes thinks that the population of the Birman dominions is not over-rated at 17,000,000.

Revenue.—The princes, and officers of the government, have lands and certain imposts allotted to them. The amount of the royal revenues is said to be immense; and the hoarding of money is a favourite maxim of oriental state policy.

Army.—The Birmans may be denominated a nation of soldiers, every man in the kingdom being liable to be called upon for his military services; and war is deemed the most honourable occupation; the regular military establishment of the Birmans is nevertheless very inconsiderable, not exceeding the numbers of which the royal guard is composed, and such as are necessary to preserve the police of the capital.

A BIRMAN HORSEMAN.

Published by Mackenzie & Dent.

Infantry and cavalry compose the regular guards of the king; the former are armed with muskets and sabres, the latter are provided with a spear about 7 or 8 feet long, which they manage on horseback with great dexterity, seldom requiring or making use of any other weapon. The infantry are not uniformly clothed: 'I heard various accounts,' says major Symes, 'of their numbers: 700 do constant duty within the precincts and at the several gates of the palace: I think that on the day of my public reception, I saw about 2,000, and have no doubt but all the troops in the city were paraded on that occasion. I was told that there were only 300 cavalry in Ummerapoora, but that 2,000 were scattered, in small detachments, throughout the neighbouring districts. All the troopers in the king's service are natives of Cassay, who are much better horsemen than the Birmans. Mr. Wood, who saw some of them at exercise, informed me that they nearly resembled those he had met with in Assam; they ride, like all orientals, with short stirrups and a loose rein; their saddle is hard and high, and two large circular flaps of strong leather hang down on each side, painted or gilded, according to the quality of the rider. Their dress is not unbecoming; they wear a tight coat, with skirts reaching down to the middle of the thigh, and on their head a turban of cloth, hard rolled and plaited, that forms a high cone, which bends backward in a graceful manner.'

By far the most respectable part of the Birman military force is their establishment of war-boats. The king can command, at a very short notice, 500 of these vessels. They carry from 50 to 60 rowers, who use short oars that work on a spindle. The rowers are severally provided with a sword and a lance, which are placed by his side whilst he plies the oars. Besides the boatmen, there are usually 30 soldiers on board, who are armed with muskets: thus prepared, they go in fleets to meet the foe, and, when in sight, draw up in a line, presenting their prows to the enemy. Their attack is extremely impetuous; they advance with great rapidity, and sing a war-song, at once to encourage their people, daunt their adversaries, and regulate the strokes of their oars; they

generally endeavour to grapple, and when that is effected, the action becomes very severe, as these people are endued with great courage, strength, and activity.

Food.—In their food the Birmans, compared with the Indians, are gross and uncleanly. Although their religion forbids the slaughter of animals in general, yet they apply the interdiction only to those that are domesticated; all game is eagerly sought after, and in many places it is publicly sold; reptiles, also, such as lizards, guanas, and snakes, constitute a part of the subsistence of the lower classes. They are extremely fond of vegetables. The higher ranks, however, live with more delicacy, although their fare is never very sumptuous.

Climate.—The climate of every part of the Birman empire, which major Symes visited, bore testimony to its salubrity, by the best possible criterion, the appearance and vigour of the natives. The seasons are regular, and the extremes of heat and cold are seldom experienced; at least the duration of that intense heat, which immediately precedes the commencement of the rainy season, is so short, that it incommodes but for a little time.

Produce.—The soil of the southern provinces of the Birman empire is remarkably fertile, and produces as luxuriant crops of rice as are found in the finest parts of Bengal. Farther northward the country becomes irregular and mountainous; but the plains and vallies, particularly near the river, are fruitful; they yield good wheat, and the various kinds of small grain which grow in Hindostan; as likewise legumes, and most of the esculent vegetables of India. Sugar canes, tobacco of a superior quality, indigo, cotton, and the different tropical fruits, in perfection, are all indigenous products of this favoured land. The empire abounds with minerals of every description.

Manners.—It has already been noticed, that the general disposition of the Birmans is strikingly contrasted with that of the natives of India, from whom they are separated only by a narrow range of mountains, in many places admitting of an easy intercourse. Notwithstanding the small extent of this

barrier, the physical difference between the nations could scarcely be greater, had they been situated at the opposite extremities of the globe. The Birmans are a lively, inquisitive race, active, irascible, and impatient; the character of their Bengal neighbours is too well known, as the reverse, to need any delineation; the unworthy passion of jealousy, which prompts most nations of the east to immure their women within the walls of a haram, and surround them with guards, seems to have scarcely any influence over the minds of this extraordinary and more liberal people. Birman wives and daughters are not concealed from the sight of men, and are suffered to have as free intercourse with each other as the rules of European society admit.

People in pecuniary embarrassment frequently sell their women to strangers, and it is said that they are very seldom unfaithful to their foreign masters, indeed they are often essentially useful, particularly to those who trade, by keeping their accounts and transacting their business: but when a man departs from the country, he is not suffered to carry his temporary wife along with him; on that point the law is exceedingly rigorous.

JOURNAL

OF

A RESIDENCE IN INDIA,

BY

MARIA GRAHAM.

THIS is the only work in our language which contains such a popular and comprehensive view of the scenery of India, and the manners of the inhabitants, as result from the first impressions, while the interest of novelty is alive. The writer went to India in 1809. She visited, *Bombay*, *Poonah*, *Ceylon*, *Madras*, and *Calcutta*, and returned to England in 1811. Her journal has been favourably received by the public.

'AFTER a voyage from England,' says our authoress, 'of 20 weeks, we landed at Bombay, on the 26th of May, 1809, in a thick fog, which presaged the coming on of the rainy-season in this part of India. On the new *bunder*, or pier, we found palanquins waiting to convey us from the shore. These *palanquins* are litters, in which one may either lie down or sit upright, with windows and sliding doors: the modern ones are little carriages, without wheels; those anciently used were of a different form, and consisted of a bed or sofa, over which was an arch just high enough to admit of sitting upright; it was decorated with gold and silver bells and fringes, and had a curtain to draw occasionally over the whole. The palanquin-bearers are here called *hamauls* (a word signifying

carrier); they for the most part wear nothing but a turban, and a cloth wrapped round the loins, a degree of nakedness which does not shock one, owing to the dark colour of the skin, which, as it is unusual to European eyes, has the effect of dress.

'Leaving the bunder we crossed the esplanade, which presented a gay and interesting scene, being crowded with people in carriages, on horseback, and on foot. A painter might have studied all the varieties of attitude and motion in the picturesque figures of the *koolies* (porters) employed in washing at their appropriate *tanks*, or wells, which are numerous on the esplanade, each tank being surrounded by broad stones, where groups of men and women are continually employed in beating the linen, while the better sort of native women, in their graceful costume, reminding one of antique sculptures, are employed in drawing, filling, or carrying water from the neighbouring wells. The Hindoo women wear a short boddice with half sleeves, which fastens behind, and is generally made of coloured brocade. The *shalie* or *sarie*, a long piece of coloured silk or cotton, is wrapped round the waist in form of a petticoat, which leaves part of one leg bare, while the other is covered to the ankle with long and graceful folds, gathered up in front, so as to leave one end of the shalie to cross the breast, and form a drapery, which is sometimes thrown over the head as a veil. The mussulman and Parsee women have nearly the same clothing, in addition to which they wear long loose trowsers. The hair is drawn back from the face, where the roots are often stained red, and fastened in a knot behind. The hands and feet of the native women are in general delicately shaped, and are covered with rings and *bangles*, or bracelets, which sometimes conceal the arm as far as the elbow, and the leg as far as the calf. As the food, lodging, and dress of the lower class of natives cost very little, it is common to see both the men and women adorned with massy rings and chains of gold and silver, round the necks, arms, waists, and legs, and the toes and fingers decked with fine filigree rings, while the ears and nose are

hung with pearls or precious stones. The vanity of parents sometimes leads them to dress their children, even while infants, in this manner, which affords a temptation, not always resisted, to murder these helpless creatures for the sake of their ornaments or *joys*.

'On entering the Black Town, which is built in a cocoa nut wood, I could not help remarking the amazing populousness of this small island; the streets appear so crowded with men, women, and children, that it seems impossible for the quiet bullock *hackrays*, or native carriages, to get along without doing mischief; much less the furiously driving coaches of the rich natives, who pride themselves upon the speed of their horses, which are more remarkable for beauty and for swiftness than for strength. I was informed that Bombay contains upwards of 200,000 inhabitants. The Europeans are as nothing in this number, the Parsees from 6 to 8,000, the mussulmans nearly the same number, and the remainder are Portuguese and Hindoos, with the exception of about 3 or 4,000 Jews, who long passed in Bombay for a sect of Mahometans, governed by a magistrate called the *cazy* of Israel; they willingly eat and converse with the mussulmans. A number of them are embodied among the marine sepoys, but most of them are low traders. The dwellings of the rich natives are surrounded by virandas, equally necessary to guard against the intemperate heat of the sun and the monsoon rains; they are generally painted in flowers and leaves of a green or red colour; those of the Hindoos have usually some of the fables of their mythology represented on their walls. The houses are necessarily of great extent, because, if a man has 20 sons, they all continue to live under the same roof even when married: and uncles, brothers, sons, and grandsons, remain together till the increase of numbers actually forces a part of the family to seek a new dwelling. The lower classes content themselves with small huts, mostly of clay, and roofed with *cadjan*, a mat made of the leaves of the Palmyra, or cocoa nut tree, plaited together. Some of these huts are so small, that they only admit of a man's sitting upright in them,

and barely shelter his feet when he lies down. There is usually a small garden round each house, containing a few herbs and vegetables, a plantain tree, and a cocoa nut or two.

'As there is but one tavern in Bombay, and as that is by no means fit for the reception of ladies, the hospitality of the British inhabitants is always exercised towards new-comers, till they can provide a place of residence for themselves. We have the good fortune to be under the hospitable roof of sir James and lady Mackintosh, at Tarala, about three miles from the fort and town of Bombay. Sir James possesses the best library that ever doubled the cape. It is arranged in a large room like the cell of a temple, surrounded with a viranda inclosed by Venetian shutters, which admit and exclude the light and air at pleasure. As the apartment is at the top of the house, which is built on an eminence, it commands on all sides charming views; in short, it combines all the *agremens* that one can look for in a place of studious retirement, and we feel its value doubly from having been so long confined to the cabin of a frigate.

August 10*th*.—The rainy season, which began in the middle of May, still continues, but we have sometimes intervals of several days of dry fine weather, so that we have been able to visit most of the villages within the island of Bombay. The first walk we took was to *Mazagong*, a dirty Portuguese village, putting in its claim to Christianity chiefly from the immense numbers of pigs kept there. It is beautifully situated on the shore between two hills, on one of which is Mazagong house, a leading mark into the harbour. It is interesting to the admirers of sentimental writings, as the house from which Sterne's Eliza eloped, and perhaps may call forth the raptures of some future pensive travellers, as the sight of Anjengo does that of the abbé Raynal, when he remembers "that it is the birth-place of Eliza." Mazagong has, however, more solid claims to attention; it has an excellent dock for small ships, and is adorned with two tolerably handsome Romish churches; but its celebrity in the east is owing to its mangoes, which are certainly the best fruit I ever tasted.

'Our next excursion was to Sion, nine miles from the fort of Bombay, and at the opposite extremity of the island. We drove through a country like an English park, where I first saw the *banian*, or Indian fig tree. It is a large spreading tree, from the branches of which long fibres descend to the ground, and there taking root become new trunks, and thus spread over a very great space. The banian is sacred, and is usually to be found near the *pagodas*, as the Europeans call the Hindoo temples. I have seen the natives walk round it in token of respect, with their hands joined, and their eyes fixed on the ground; they also sprinkle it with red and yellow dust, and strew flowers before it; and it is common to see at its root stones sculptured with the figures of some of the minor Hindoo gods.

'The *fort* of Bombay is said to be too large to be defended, if ever an European enemy should effect a landing on the island, and no part of it is bomb proof; besides which, the native houses within the walls are closely crowded together, very high, and mostly built of wood. The fort is dirty, hot, and disagreeable. The most important and interesting object in the fort is the dock yard, where a new dock is nearly finished, consisting of two basins, in the inner one of which there is already a 74 gun ship on the stocks. The old dock is still serviceable, though much out of repair, and too small to admit a large ship; it was found a few inches too short to receive the Blenheim, so that she could not receive the repairs she required previous to her leaving India. The new dock is said to be complete and excellent in its kind; it is the work of captain Cooper of the company's engineers. There is a steam engine for pumping it dry, the only one on the island. Bombay is the only place in the east where the rise of tide is sufficient to construct docks on a large scale, the highest springtides having never been known to be above 17 feet, and rarely more than 14. The harbour is filled with vessels from all nations, and of all shapes, but the largest and finest of the foreigners are the Arabs. Our trade with them consists in horses, pearls, coffee, gums of various kinds, honey, and *ghee*, which is butter clarified and put into leathern jars.

W. Davidson Sculp.t

HINDOOS WORSHIPPING THE BANIAN TREE.

Besides these articles from Arabia, the Persian gulf also furnishes dried fruits, ottur of roses, tobacco, rosewater, a small quantity of Schiraz wine, with a few articles of curiosity and luxury, as books, worked slippers, and silk shawls.

'The only English church is in the fort; it is large, but neither well served nor attended. The Portuguese and Armenian churches are numerous, both within and without the walls, and there are three or four synagogues, and mosques and temples innumerable. In the English settlements, when the Bramins go out of their houses, they usually put on the tuban and mussulman *jamma*, or gown. I saw at *Momba Devee's* temple (the name of the Bombay goddess) some *soi-disant* holy men; they were young and remarkably fat, sprinkled over with ashes, and their hair was matted and filthy. I believe they had no clothing, for, during the few minutes I remained in the temple, they held a veil before them, and stood behind the Bramins. My expectations of Hindoo innocence and virtue are fast giving way, and I fear that, even among the Parias, I shall not find any thing like St. Pierre's *Chaumiere Indienne.* In fact, the Parias are outcasts so despicable, that a Bramin not only would refuse to instruct them, but would think himself contaminated by praying for them. These poor creatures are employed in the lowest and most disgusting offices; they are not permitted to live in any town or village, or to draw water from the same well as the Hindoos. It is therefore not to be wondered at, that their minds are degraded in proportion to their personal situations. Near every Hindoo village there is commonly a hamlet of Parias, whose inhabitants pay a small tax to the *kalkurny*, or village-collector, for permission to reside near a *bazar* (market) and wells, and they earn a subsistence by acting as porters and scavengers. They are filthy in all their habits, and do not scruple to use as food any dead animal they find; it is even said that, in some places, they do not reject human bodies.

'*September* 19*th.*—We have spent our forenoon to-day very agreeably, in conversing with two well informed natives, one a Hindoo, the other a mussulman. They both speak English

well, and are thoroughly informed in all that concerns the laws, religion, and customs of their own nations.

'Our mussulman friend, the cazy Shahab o'dien Mahary is a sincere Mahometan, and therefore a great bigot; however, he sometimes drinks tea with us, and does not scruple to eat bread, pastry, and fruit in our house.

'My sister and I paid a visit to his harem, but could by no means prevail on the cazy to admit any of the gentlemen of our family. In the lower part of the house we saw a number of mussulmans sitting cross-legged, with cushions at their backs, in the different apartments, perfectly idle, rarely even speaking, and seeming hardly able to exert themselves so far as to put the betle into their mouths. We ascended to the women's apartment by a ladder, which is removed when not in immediate use, to prevent the ladies from escaping, and were received by the cazy's wife's mother, a fine old woman dressed in white, and without any ornaments, as becomes a widow. Shahab o'dien's mother, and the rest of his father's widows, were first presented, then Fatima his wife, to whom our visit was paid, and afterwards his sisters, some of them fine lively young women. They all crowded round us to examine our dress, and the materials of which it was composed. They were surprised at our wearing so few ornaments, but we told them it was the custom of our country, and they replied that it was good. I was not sorry that they so openly expressed their curiosity, as it gave us a better opportunity of gratifying our own. The apartment in which we were received was about 20 feet square, and rather low. Round it were smaller rooms, most of them crowded with small beds, with white muslin curtains; these were not particularly clean, and the whole suit seemed close and disagreeable. Most of the women were becomingly dressed. Fatima's arms, legs, and neck, were covered with rings and chains; her fingers and toes were loaded with rings; her head was surrounded with a fillet of pearls, some strings of which crossed it several ways, and confined her hair, which was knotted up behind. On her forehead hung a cluster of coloured stones, from which depended a large pearl, and round her face small strings of

pearl hung at equal distances. Her ear-rings were very beautiful; but I do not like the custom of boring the hem of the ear, and studding it all round with *joys*, or jewels, nor could even Fatima's beautiful face reconcile me to the nose jewel. Her large black eyes, the *cheshme ahoo*, stag eyes, of the eastern poets, were rendered more striking by the black streaks with which they were adorned and lengthened out at the corners; and the palms of her hands, the soles of her feet, and her nails, were stained with *hinna*, a plant, the juice of whose seeds is of a deep red colour.

'Fatima's manner is modest, gentle, and indolent. Before her husband she neither lifts her eyes nor speaks, and hardly moves without permission from the elder ladies of the harem. She presented us with perfumed *sherbet* (a drink little different from lemonade), fruit, and sweatmeats, chiefly made of ghee, poppy seeds, and sugar. Some of them were tolerably good, but it required all my good manners to swallow others. Prepared as I was to expect very little from mussulman ladies, I could not help being shocked to see them so totally void of cultivation as I found them. They mutter their prayers, and some of them read the koran, but not one in a thousand understands it. Still fewer can read their own language, or write at all, and the only work they do is a little embroidery. They thread beads, plait coloured threads, sleep, quarrel, make pastry, and chew betle, in the same daily round; and it is only at a death, a birth, or a marriage, that the monotory of their lives is ever interrupted. When I took leave, I was presented with flowers and *paung*, (chunam and betle nut wrapped in the leaf of an aromatic plant,) and sprinkled with rosewater.

'As visits in the east are matters of ceremony, not of kindness, they are considered as a burden on the visitor, from which the person visited relieves him, as soon as he is satisfied with his company, by ordering refreshments, or offering the paung, which is a signal to depart. The highest affront one can offer to an oriental, is to refuse his betle. Bernier tells a story of a young noble, who, to prove his loyalty, took and

swallowed the paung from Shah Jehan, though he knew it to be poisoned.'

In a hut which Mrs. Graham visited with her friends, she found three very pretty children playing round their grandmother, who was sitting on the ground in a little viranda at the end of the house, grinding rice for the evening meal of the family. The mill consists of two round flat stones, in the lower one of which there is a groove to let out the flour; the middle of the upper one is inserted into a hollow in the other, and is turned by a wooden peg stuck into it, about one-third of the diameter from the edge. Three or four goats, with their kids, were tied to stakes round the door, and a few fowls were running about in the garden. The party sat by the old woman while she made her bread, but at a sufficient distance not to pollute her cooking utensils or her fire. Every vessel she used, though apparently clean before, she carefully washed, and then mixed her rice flour with milk, water, and salt, when she beat it between the palms of her hands till it was round and thin, and baked it on a round iron plate, such as is used in Scotland for oat cakes. Besides these cakes, she prepared a few heads of maize, by rubbing off the chaff and laying them in the fire to roast for the family supper. At the next hut, the woman was grinding *missala*, or curry stuff, on a flat smooth stone, with another shaped like a rolling-pin. Less than an English halfpenny procures enough of turmeric, spice, salt, and ghee, to season the whole of the rice eaten in a day by a labourer, his wife, and five or six children; the vegetables and acids he requires are found in every hedge. The curry was cooked with as much cleanliness as the bread, and the inside of both the huts was beautifully neat. In one corner in each, a large stone, with red powder sprinkled on it, stood as a household god, and before it were laid a few grains of rice and a cocoa nut as offerings.

The place where our authoress resided, she describes as a little paradise; but for the reptiles peculiar to the climate. Snakes, from the enormous rock snake, who first breaks the bones of his prey, by coiling round it, and then swallows it

whole, to the smallest of the venomous tribe, glide about in every direction. Here the cobra-capella, whose bite is in almost every instance mortal, lifts his graceful folds, and spreads his many-coloured crest; here too lurks the small bright speckled cobra-manilla, whose fangs convey instant death.

The manners of the English at Bombay are described as similar to those of a country town at home. The merchants are the most intelligent, and the ladies under-bred and over-drest. The dinner parties are dull, ceremonious, and uncomfortable. Each guest brings his own servant, sometimes two or three; these are either Parsees or mussulmans. It appears singular to a stranger to see behind every white man's chair a dark, long bearded, turbaned gentleman, who usually stands so close to his master, as to make no trifling addition to the heat of the apartment; indeed, were it not for the *punka* (a large frame of wood covered with cloth), which is suspended over every table, and kept constantly swinging, in order to freshen the air, it would scarcely be possible to sit out the melancholy ceremony of an Indian dinner.

'On leaving the eating-room,' says Mrs. Graham, 'one generally sees or hears, in some place near the door, the cleaning of dishes, and the squabbling of cooks for their perquisites. If they are within sight, one perceives a couple of dirty Portuguese (black men who eat pork and wear breeches) directing the operations of half a dozen still dirtier Parias, who are scraping dishes and plates with their hands, and then, with the same unwashen paws, putting aside the next day's tiffin for their master's table.

'The equipage that conveys one from a party, if one does not use a palanquin, is curious. The light and elegant figure of the Arab horses is a strong contrast with the heavy carriages and clumsy harness generally seen here. The coachman is always a whiskered Parsee, with a gay coloured turban, and a muslin or chintz gown, and there are generally two *massalgees*, or torch-bearers, and sometimes two horse-keepers, to run before one. On getting home, one finds a *sepoy* or *peon* walking round the open virandas of the house as a guard.

We have four of these servants, two of whom remain in the house for 24 hours, when they are relieved by the two others. These men carry messages, go to market, and attend to the removal of goods or furniture, but will carry nothing themselves heavier than a small book. The female servants are Portuguese, and they only act as ladies-maids, all household work being done by men, as well as the needle-work of the family.

'The *derdjees*, or tailors, in Bombay, are Hindoos of a respectable cast, who wear the *zenaar*, (a consecrated thread worn over one shoulder by the high casts). My derdjee, a tall good-looking young man, wears a fine worked muslin gown, and a red or purple turban bordered with gold. He works and cuts out beautifully, making as much use of his toes as of his fingers in the last operation. Besides the hamauls for the palanquins, we have some for house-work; they make the beds, sweep and clean the rooms and furniture, and fetch water; on any emergency they help the palanquin bearers, and receive assistance from them in return. For the meaner offices we have a Hallalcor or Chandela, (one of the most wretched Parias), who attend twice a-day. Two massalgees clean and light the lamps and candles, and carry the torches before us at night. One of these is a Paria, so that he can clean knives, remove bones and rubbish, which his fellow-servant Nersu, who is of a good cast, will not do. Nersu fetches bread and flour, carries messages, and even parcels, provided they be not large enough to make him appear like a *kooli*, or porter, and takes the greatest share of preparing the lamps, which are finger-glasses or tumblers half filled with water, on which they pour the cocoa nut oil, always calculating it exactly to the number of hours the lamp has to burn; the wick is made of cotton twisted round a splinter of bamboo. The native masons, carpenters, and blacksmiths, are remarkably neat and dexterous in their several trades. There is plenty of stone on the island for building, but a good deal of brick is used. All the lime here is made from shells.

'The Indian carpenter's tools are so coarse, and the native wood is so hard, that one would wonder that the work is ever

performed. Almost every thing is done with a chissel and an axe. The gimlet is a long piece of iron wire with a flat point, fixed into a wooden handle consisting of two parts, the upper one of which is held in one hand, while the other is turned by a bow, whose string is twisted twice round it. The plane is small, but similar to that of Europe, excepting that it has a cross stick in the front, which serves as a handle for another workman, two being generally employed at one plane. As the comforts of a carpenter's bench are unknown, when a Hindoo wants to plane his work, he sits on the ground, with his partner opposite to him, steadying the timber with their toes, and both plane together. I have seen two of them working in this manner on a bit of wood a foot square, with a plane three inches long. Even the blacksmiths sit down to do their work. They dig a hole 18 inches or 2 feet deep, in the centre of which they place the anvil, so that they sit by it with their legs in the hole. A native of India does not get through so much work as an European; but the multitude of hands, and the consequent cheapness of labour, supply the place of the industry of Europe, and in most cases that of its machinery also.

'It reminds one of the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*, to go through the *bazar*, or market, of an evening. The whole fronts of the shops are taken down and converted into benches, on which the goods are disposed, and each shop is lighted with at least two lamps. Here you see grain of every description heaped up in earthen jars; there, sweetmeats of all sorts and shapes, disposed in piles on benches, or hung in festoons about the top and sides of the shop, which is commonly lined with chintz or dyed cotton. Farther on, fruits and vegetables are laid out to the best advantage; then you come to the *paung*, or betle leaf, nut, and chunam, ready for chewing, or the seperate materials; beyond are shops for perfumes, linens, oils, toys, brass, and earthen ware, all set out in order, and the owner sitting bolt upright in the middle of his sweetmeats or grain, waiting for custom. The shops of the *schroffs*, or bankers, are numerous in the bazar; you see the master sitting in the middle of his money-table, surrounded

by piles of copper and silver money, with scales for weighing the rupees and other coins presented for change. But it is the barber's shop that is always most crowded, being, particularly at night, the great resort for gossip and news, on which account the natives call it *gup shop;* the barbers themselves seem to enjoy a prescriptive right to be lively, witty, and good story-tellers. I have seen some excellent buffoons among them, and a slap given to a bald new-shaven pate, in the proper part of a story, has set half a bazar in a roar. The barbers keep every body's holidays,—Hindoos, Jews, mussulmans, Armenians, Portuguese, and English,—and reap a good harvest at each by their comic way of begging.

'On coming first here, one would imagine that none of the people ever slept at night; for, besides that the coppersmiths and blacksmiths generally work all night, and sleep all day, on account of the heat, there are processions going about from sunset till sunrise, with *tom-toms* (small drums), kettledrums, citarrs, vins, pipes, and a kind of large brazen trumpet, which requires two people to carry it, making altogether the most horrible din I ever heard. These processions, with the picturesque dresses of the natives, and their graceful attitudes, the torches carried by children, and the little double pipe blown by boys, whose wildness might make them pass for satyres, put one strongly in mind of the ancient Bacchanals. It is usually on account of marriages that these nocturnal feasts are held. When they are in honour of a god they take place in the day, when the deity is carried on a litter in triumph, with banners before and behind, and priests carrying flowers, and milk and rice, while hardly any one joins the procession without an offering. All this looks very well at a distance, but, on coming near, one is shocked at the meanness and inelegance of the god, and at the filth and wretchedness of his votaries.'

After giving some account of the Hindoo mythology, and of a visit to the island of Elephanta, our authoress set out on an excursion to *Poonah*, the Maratta capital. 'Our company,' says she, 'consists of one lady, two gentlemen, and three

children, besides ourselves, but our attendants are near 200. We are obliged to carry tents, furniture, cooking-utensils, and food, so that our train cannot consist of fewer persons. Besides, we have koolies to carry our baggage, lascars to attend to and pitch our tents, servants to dress our food, and hamauls for our palanquins. Having sent on the baggage and servants the preceding day, we embarked at the bunder in the fort of Bombay, and after a three hours sail we reached *Panwell*, situated two miles inland, on a branch of the sea, the entrance to which is marked rather than defended by the little ruinous fort of Bellapoor.'

After travelling two days, they were met by Mr. Russel, the British resident at Poonah, who came to meet them. Next day they reached Tulligong. 'The country,' says Mrs. Graham, 'presents melancholy traces of the ravages of war and famine. The camps of Scindia and Holkar are everywhere discernible, and the march of their soldiers is marked by ruined houses and temples, and drained tanks. Tulligong is just recovering from the effects of the dreadful famine of 1805-6. It is said that, in this town alone, 80,000 persons perished; and one of my fellow-travellers says, that when he was here last year, the bones strewed the fields around. The inhabitants of many towns and villages emigrated, hoping to find elsewhere that sustenance which failed at home; thousands perished on the road side, and many, at the very moment when they stretched forth their hands to receive the means of life which the charity of the British afforded, sunk to death ere the long wished-for morsel reached their lips. A mother, with five children, on her way from Hydrabad to Bombay, had reached Salsette; there she was too weak to proceed, and, to preserve herself and four of her offspring, she sold the fifth for a little rice; but it was too late; she and her infants perished the next morning; and instances of the like were numerous. Yet such was the patience of the Hindoos, that they saw the waggons of rice sent by the English at Bombay to the relief of Poonah, pass through their villages without an attempt to stop them.

'We visited the rajah, who is hereditary general of the Maratta forces, and his family held other great offices; but they are now superseded in the peishwa's favour, and the general has nothing of his former consequence but his name, and a huge state elephant which is kept at his palace-gate. He is the guardian of the pagoda; and by his permission we were furnished with excellent fish from the tank. The rajah is a plump stupid-looking man, but good-natured and hospitable. He begged our friends to let the children visit him, for he had never seen an European child, and the Marattas say proverbially, when they would praise beauty, "As lovely as a white child."'

On the following day, December 19, our fair traveller exclaims, 'I have just seen what I thought I should never have met with on this side of Tibet, namely, an *alive god*, called the deo of Chimchore, who is nothing less than Ganesa himself, incarnate in the person of a boy of 12 years old, the eighth of his family honoured as the vehicle of the deity's appearance on earth. The first was Maraba, a Gosseyn, whose piety was so exemplary, that Ganesa rewarded it by becoming incarnate in his person, at the same time committing to his care a sacred stone, and the guardianship of his own temple, promising the same favours to his descendants for seven generations. These are now passed away; but as the piety and superstition of the deo's neighbours has enriched the family by grants of lands, and town and villages, the holy Bramins have decreed, that the god is still incarnate in the family of Maraba; and to the objection that the promise was only to seven generations, they answer, that as the deity was able to grant that favour to the seven immediate descendants of the holy Gosseyn, it would be impious to doubt his power of continuing it to their posterity. The deo's palace, or *bara*, is an enormous pile of building, without any kind of elegance, near the river Mootha, on which the town stands. As we entered the court, we saw a number of persons engaged in the honourable and holy office of mixing the sacred cow-dung to be spread on the floors of the bara. The whole palace looked

dirty, and every window was crowded with sleek well-fed Bramins, who doubtless take great care of the deo's revenues. We found his little godship seated in a mean viranda, on a low wooden seat, not any way distinguished from other children, but by an anxious wildness of the eyes, said to be occasioned by the quantity of opium which he is daily made to swallow. He is not allowed to play with other boys, nor is he permitted to speak any language but Sanscrit, that he may not converse with any but Bramins. He received us very politely, said he was always pleased to see English people; and after some conversation, which a Bramin interpreted, we took leave, and were presented by his divine hand with almonds and sugar-candy perfumed with asafœtida, and he received in return a handful of rupees.

'From the bara we went to the tombs of the former deos, which are so many small temples inclosed in a well paved court, planted round with trees, communicating with the river by a handsome flight of steps. Here was going on all the business of worship. In one place were women pouring oil, milk, and water, over the figures of the gods; in another, children decking them with flowers; here devotees and pilgrims performing their ablutions, and there priests chanting portions of the vedas; yet all going on in a manner that might beseem the inhabitants of the Castle of Indolence. I returned to our tents, filled with reflections not very favourable to the dignity of human nature, after witnessing such a degrading instance of superstitious folly.

'*Sungum Poonah, December* 20.—We arrived here last night at five o'clock. The residency is two miles from Poonah, at the junction of the rivers Moolha and Mootha, on which account it is called the *Sungum* or junction. The apartments are a group of *bungalos*, or garden-houses, placed in a most delightful garden, where the apple, the pear, and the peach, the orange, the almond, and the fig, overshadow the strawberry, and are hedged in by the rose, the myrtle, and the jasmine.

'We experienced some disappointment this morning, for we were to have seen and conversed with a Nusteek philosopher,

who sent word that he was too ill to come to us. These sages are abhorred by the Bramins, who call them atheists, because they assert that the soul can be assured of nothing but its own existence, and that therefore we cannot be certain whether there be a God or no. The books of this sect are proscribed, nor dare any Bramin give or lend them, or even discover where they may be found. The Vedantis are not so unfavourably thought of; they deny the existence of matter, and affirm that our life is the effect of *Maya* or delusion, produced by *Brehm*, the eternal energy.

'But I must leave these eastern speculations, and return to objects of common sight and hearing. To-day, for the first time, I rode on an elephant; his motions are by no means unpleasant, and they are quick enough to keep a horse at a round trot to keep up with him. The animal we rode is 11 feet high; his forehead and ears are beautifully mottled; his tusks are very thick, and sawed off to a convenient length for him to kneel, while his riders mount. On his back an enormous pad is placed, and tightly girt with chains and cotton rope; upon this is placed the *howda*, a kind of box divided into two parts; the front containing a seat large enough for two or three persons, and the back a space for the servant who bears the umbrella. The driver sits astride on the animal's neck, and with one foot behind each ear he guides him as he pleases. On our return we saw him fed. As soon as the howda is taken off, he is led to the water, where he washes and drinks; he is then fastened by the heels to a peg in his stable, where he lies down to sleep for a few hours in the night only. His food is rice, grass, leaves, and young branches of trees, but he is most fond of bread and fruit, especially the plantain.

'*Dec.* 21.—This morning the gentlemen of our party joined those of the residency in a fox-chase, a favourite amusement of the young Englishmen here, although the heat always obliges them to quit the field by nine o'clock. The great sport of the Marattas is ram-fighting. The animals are trained for the purpose, and some of them which we saw were really beautiful; but as these were not spectacles for ladies, we

dismissed them without a combat, much to the disappointment of their owners, whose fondness for these shews is only exceeded by their love of gambling, which so possesses the Hindoos, that they sometimes play away their wives and children, and even their own liberty.

'I am sorry the peishwa is now absent on a pilgrimage, as I should like to see a native prince. I am told that he is a man of little or no ability, a great sensualist, and very superstitious. His time is spent in making pilgrimages, or buried in his zenana. Hardly a week passes without some devout procession, on which he squanders immense sums, and consequently he is always poor.

'*Panwel, Dec.* 26.—We left Poonah on the 23d, at daybreak, and arrived here yesterday afternoon. As we were walking down the *ghaut*, or pass, we met several horsemen from Scind and Guzerat, on their road to Poonah, in search of military service. They were very handsomely dressed and accoutred, and were walking, while their horses, richly caparisoned, were led. Their arms are swords, shields, and spears, painted and gilt. One warrior had a bow and arrows; his bow hung by his side, in a case covered with tissue; his arrows were light and delicately made, the heads of various shapes, pointed, barbed, or cut into crescents, and his quiver, slung over his shoulder, glittered with gilding and foil.

'*Point de Galle, island of Ceylon, Feb.* 16, 1810.—Having been very unwell for some time, I was advised to take a short voyage for the recovery of my health. This is a remedy which seldom fails in this climate, and is found particularly useful in the intermitting fevers of the country. Accordingly, as some of our friends were sailing for England, we thought we could not do better than accompany them thus far on their passage.

'We came here in an 800 ton country-ship, where every thing is as new to me as if I had never been on board of a large vessel before. All the sailors are lascars, and the only Europeans are the captain, three officers, and the surgeon; the gunners and quarter-masters, of whom there are 10, are

Indian Portuguese; they are called *secunnies*. The best lascars are Siddees, a tribe of Mahometans, inhabitants of Gogo in Guzerat. They live chiefly on rice and salt fish, but occasionally they take tea, sugar, and fruit, as preventives or cures for the scurvy. The ship is built of teak-wood, which lasts much longer than oak; it does not shrink, so that little caulking is required; and it contains so much oil, that the iron bolts and nails driven into it do not rust; it is, however, inconveniently heavy. The masts are of poon, which though lighter than the teak, is cumbrous compared with European timber. The rigging is of coier rope, which is made of the cocoa nut husk, steeped till the woody part decays, when the fibres are beaten, washed, and laid by hand, as they are too stiff to be spun. The coier rope is very strong, and does not shrink; fresh water rots it, so that the standing-rigging is served over with wax-cloth and hempen-yarn; but salt water preserves it, and coier cables are found to answer particularly well.

'*Pointe de Galle* is an old Dutch fort, very much out of repair, and not worth making better. It is very neatly kept, and has a cheerful air from the rows of trees planted on each side of the streets. There are not above six English families resident here, but at present a much greater number are collected, as the fleet assembles here for convoy, and to take in spices on the voyage home.'

Mrs. Graham describes the Cingalese as being coarser than the natives of Bombay and the adjacent coast, and they wear less clothing in general. The Maha Modeliar the principal native, although a Christian, conforms to the custom of his ancestors in wearing a piece of chintz wrapped round him like a petticoat, but the rest of the dress is of the Portuguese form. His stock and waistcoat, of fine white cotton, are buttoned with rubies; his coat is of fine English broad cloth, the buttons of embossed silver, and the button-holes embroidered with the same. Across his shoulders hangs a rich gold lace sword belt, fastened with a cluster of precious stones; the sword hilt and scabbard are chassed gold, and the eyes and tongues of the lions heads on the hilt are of rubies. The Modeliar's hair is

combed tight back from the face, and fastened in a knot behind; a square tortoise-shell comb ornaments the top of the head.

The common people wear their hair dressed in the same manner, excepting that the women deck the knot behind with long pins of gold and silver set with precious stones. Neither sex wears any clothing above the waist, excepting when they become household servants to Europeans, when they put on a jacket. The clothing of the better sort descends to the heels, the common people are only covered to the knee. The Cingalese houses are better constructed than those of the same class of natives in Bombay, owing perhaps to the necessity of the climate, which is more damp and variable.

Schools for English, Dutch, and Cingalese, have been established in different parts of Ceylon. Those who are brought up in them are mostly baptized by the Dutch Protestant ministers, which opens to them small offices under government; hence they are becoming ambitious, and of course industrious. They build better houses, eat better food, and wear better clothes than their ancestors.

'In the evening, when it was dark,' says our authoress, 'suddenly the wood seemed in a blaze; 18 or 20 of the inhabitants of a village, concealed by the brushwood, ran out of their houses with bundles of lighted cocoa nut leaves, and preceded us to the next hamlet, where they were relieved by others, and so on to Pointe de Galle. The effect of this illumination surpassed that of any I ever saw. Sometimes the straight tall trunks of the palm trees, whose fan-like heads remained in shadow, seemed to represent a magnificent colonnade; sometimes, where the creeping plants had entwined themselves round them, and hung in festoons from tree to tree, they appeared like some enchanted bower, dressed by fairy hands; while the graceful figures of the torch-bearers, scarcely clothed, yet glittering with barbaric gold and pearl, with their joyous shouts, recalled to our imagination the triumphs of Bacchus.

'*Columbo, Feb.* 28, 1810.—I am writing in a *bungalo* (a garden-house, or cottage) lent us by a friend, on the margin

of the beautiful lake of Columbo. It is divided into basins by projecting points, and interspersed with islands; its banks are dotted with villas, and fringed with as great a variety of trees as you see in England; it is only where, on some steep bank, the slender betle lifts its graceful trunk, that we are reminded of being in the East Indies.

On the road from Point de Galle to Columbo, Mrs. Graham and her party, on approaching a village, were met by all its dancing men with their musical instruments, to which they conducted them dancing and playing before them all the way. 'At the entrance of *Ambolamgodda* we found,' says she, 'what I suppose is the militia of the place drawn up to receive us. Three or four old bayonets stuck upon sticks, as many old bear-spears, old pikes, and weapons without names, composed the ragged armour of the ragged crew; and a Madras bed-cover, fluttering on a pole, served for a standard. At the head of this band marched the village Modeliar, who led us to the rest-house, where, after dressing ourselves, we sat down to an excellent dinner of the fish of the coast, part of a wild hog, of which there are great numbers in the island, and other good things.

'When I went to my room at night, I found a lamp, of probably a more ancient form than any antique; a solid lump of wood, with a long stick inserted into it, supported half a cocoa nut shell, which contained the oil and the wick. The hand of art only was wanting to convert this rude lamp into an elegant piece of furniture; for the log was an unplaned piece of ebony, the stick a fresh bamboo, and the shell itself, whose form as a lamp is beautiful, takes a fine polish.'

During the whole journey Mrs. Graham and her party were treated with great attention and hospitality. 'On reaching a river,' says our authoress, 'our palanquins and servants went over in two or three small boats lashed together, and with them a number of people carrying lights; then all the village musicians in separate boats, having also their lights; and lastly our boat, dressed with white cotton, flowers, and leaves, and illuminated with the dried cocoa nut leaves. I really never saw so gay a scene; and it was with no small regret

that I reached the opposite shore, to shut myself up in my palanquin, and to listen to the monotonous song of my palanquin-bearers.

'*March* 1.—We have now been at Columbo some days; and I am so delighted with the place, and with the English society here, that if I could choose my place of residence for the rest of the time of my absence from England, it should be Columbo. We generally drive out before breakfast in a *bandy*, or gig, and go sometimes through the fort, which is extremely pretty. It is immediately between the sea and the lake, and only joined to the mainland by a causeway on each side of the water; and sometimes we go through the cinnamon gardens, which lie at the opposite end of the lake. The cinnamon is naturally a tall shrub, or rather tree, but it is kept low in the gardens for the sake of the young bark, which is gathered at two different seasons, though the same plants are not cut every season. When the sticks are cut, the bark is taken off with a little instrument, which peels the whole at once; it is then laid in the sun to dry, when it rolls of itself in the manner in which we see it in the shops. Great nicety is required in laying together a sufficient number of pieces for one roll, and in sorting the different qualities, the finest spice being always at the extremity of the branch. The soil in the gardens is fine white sand.

'The elephants here are used for drawing timber out of the jungle, and for other public works; but the greater number of those caught in Ceylon are sold to the continent of India. The elephant-keepers teach their beasts a number of tricks, such as walking upon two legs, taking up people with their trunks, tearing up trees, and picking pins or small coins out of the sand. Yet, tame as they are, they are extremely sensible to injuries. One of those we saw, though habitually gentle and obedient, formerly killed a keeper who had been cruel to him. The number and variety of stories concerning the sagacity of the elephant told by those most in the habit of seeing and observing that animal, if they do not prove the truth of each anecdote, are yet strongly presumptive of his wisdom and docility. I was told by a gentleman, that, not

long ago, a considerable body of troops had to cross the Kistna, then much swollen by the rains, in doing which, one of the artillery-men who was mounted on a gun fell off in the middle of the stream, immediately before the wheel of the gun-carriage; his comrades gave him up for lost; but an elephant attending on the artillery had seen him fall, and putting his trunk to the wheel, raised it so as to prevent its crushing the man, and then lifted him out of the water unhurt.

'*On board the H. C. Cruiser, Prince of Wales, March 12, off the Malabar coast.*—As this is the season when the land and sea breezes become less constant, previous to the setting in of the northern winds, we are creeping slowly along the coast, and so close to it that we see perfectly well the situation of every place as we pass. Cape Comorin, and the islands in its neighbourhood, make, from sea, like a high rocky point, and from thence the mountains rise as we advance towards the north. In some places they are so near the shore, that they literally seem to overhang it; in others they recede a few miles, leaving space for towns, villages, and fields. They are almost clothed to the top with "majestic woods of every vigorous green;" and it is only here and there that a wide tract of jungle-grass, or a projecting rock, interrupts the deep hue of these ancient forests. At the foot of the ghauts, or passes, the white churches of the Christians of St. John's and of the Portuguese, appear now and then among the cocoa nut woods which fringe the forest, and mix agreeably with the fishermen's huts, the native pagodas, and the ruined forts of decayed European settlements. The night scenery is not less beautiful; it is the custom to burn the jungle-grass before the rains, in order to fertilize the soil; and though the smoke only is visible in the day, at night you see miles of country glowing with red embers, or blazing with vivid flame.

'*March 20, off Calicut.*—We spent the afternoon of yesterday ashore at Calicut, where we busied our imaginations, endeavouring to trace the scenes of the first landing of Europeans in India, the meeting of the Zamorim and Vasco de Gama, the treachery of the prince, and the bravery and

presence of mind of the admiral; but the place has passed so often through the hands of conquerors, that every trace of former grandeur and importance is swept away. About four miles north of Calicut is a creek, where some have conjectured that the town of Calicut formerly stood, and where the Portuguese fleet must have lain during the monsoon. There are a few heaps of stones and old walls near the spot; but if it be really the scite of old Calicut, the creek must have been much deeper than it now is, before it could have admitted even one of the ships.

'*May* 4.—After passing slowly by Telichery, the Anjedive islands, and the picturesque point of cape Ramas, we came in sight of the fortress of Aguada, at the entrance of the harbour of Goa, and I entertained hopes of landing the next morning to see the old city, with its marble churches and magnificent monasteries, and to pay my respects to the tomb of saint Francis Xavier; but a contrary breeze sprung up in the night, and blew us far from the shore, so that I was obliged to reconcile myself to the disappointment, by reflecting on the present misery of that once flourishing colony, which would have embittered any pleasure I could hope for in admiring its exterior beauties. The old town is so unhealthy that a new one has been built at some distance, and the unpeopled streets of the ancient city echo only to the unfrequent tread of some religious procession. The colony is almost abandoned by the mother-country, and its inhabitants scarcely speak their native tongue intelligibly. Their poverty is such, that the women of the best families earn their subsistence by making lace, or artificial flowers, and working muslin.

'*Trincomale*, *June* 20, 1810.—Once more I find myself in Ceylon, or, as my great predecessor Sinbad the sailor calls it, *Serendib*. I left my friends at Bhandoop on the 31st of May, and on the 1st of June I sailed from Bombay in H. M. ship Illustrious, commanded by captain Broughton, who accompanied Vancouver in his voyage round the world. We stood out to sea for two days, to look for a favourable wind, as the monsoon was already set in in the neighbourhood of

Bombay, and on the 12th day from our departure we anchored in the Back-bay of Trincomale, a distance of between 12 and 1,300 miles. Here we found the commander-in-chief, admiral Drury, with seven ships of war, so that we seemed almost to have arrived at a British port. The scene of Trincomale is the most beautiful I ever saw; I can compare it to nothing but Loch Catrine on a gigantic scale. The ships are now lying in Back-bay, but the inner harbour is safe at all seasons; it is so land-locked, that it appears like a lake. Yesterday we rode before breakfast to fort Osnaburgh, on a high point of land, commanding both divisions of the inner harbour. The bay, gleaming with the rising sun, seemed like a sheet of liquid gold, broken into creeks and bays, studded with verdant isles, and enclosed by mountains feathered with wood to the summit; while, from the nearer crags, the purple convolvulus, the white moon-flower, and the scarlet and yellow gloriosa, floated like banners in the wind.

'The outer bay is formed by a bold projecting rock, at the extremity of which are the remains of a Hindoo temple. Six pillars, beautifully carved, and supporting a cornice and roof, now form the portico of a British artillery hospital; and a seventh pillar is placed on the summit of a rock opposite. We were told that some caves exist in the neighbourhood, but whether natural or artificial we could not ascertain, neither could we procure a guide to them.

'Trincomale was formerly considered very unhealthy, but there does not appear to be any local circumstance to render it so, and the complaints of it on that head are daily decreasing. Like the rest of the coast of Ceylon, the soil had been found unfit for raising vegetables; but, by the exertions of admiral Drury, a colony of Chinese has established a large garden, whose products are already such as to promise the fairest success. The admiral has also been at pains to import cattle and poultry, and to distribute them among the natives, so as, if possible, to secure a supply for the fleet. Timber is in great plenty, and easy of access, and there are many covers where ships may be hove down with the greatest safety at all seasons; so that repairs can be performed here at less cost

than at any other place in India, though the rise of tide is not sufficient at any season for the building of docks.

'The Dutch forts now remaining are out of repair; they seem never to have been strong, and the town is small and mean. There are but few European inhabitants, so that the society is composed almost exclusively of the officers of the regiments stationed there. The lower people are chiefly Hindoos from the opposite coast; the only native Cingalese I saw were a few gold and silversmiths, whose chains and other ornaments equal those of Tritchinopoly. The troops now here are divisions of two Malay regiments, and his majesty's 66th regiment, besides a company of artillery. The other day the officers gave a ball and supper to their naval brethren. The colours of the regiment were suspended over the supper table, and the whole was decorated with flowers and branches of trees. In return, parties are constantly going off to the ships; and yesterday we had a grand spectacle; every ship in the bay (among which were two seventy-fours and four frigates) fired two broadsides. I never saw any thing so beautiful as the effect of the clouds of smoke, as they first obscured the whole horizon, and then gradually rolling off, left the ships brightly reflected in the water, which was clear and smooth as a mirror. Nor were the thundering reverberations from the rocks less striking, amidst the grand silence and calmness of nature around.

'*Madras, July* 12, 1810.—When our fleet at Trincomale dispersed, each ship to her station, by the admiral's permission I accompanied captain Graham in the Hecate to this place, where we arrived on the third day from our departure, the distance being between 2 and 300 miles. I do not know any thing more striking than the first approach to Madras. The low flat sandy shore extending for miles to the north and south, for the few hills there are appear far inland, seems to promise nothing but barren nakedness, when, on arriving in the roads, the town and fort are like a vision of enchantment. The beach is crowded with people of all colours, whose busy motions, at that distance, make the earth itself seem alive. The public offices and storehouses which line the beach are

fine buildings, with colonnades to the upper stories supported by rustic bases arched, all of the fine Madras chunam, smooth, hard, and polished as marble. At a short distance fort George, with its lines and bastions, the government-house and gardens, backed by St. Thomas's mount, form an interesting part of the picture, while here and there in the distance, minarets and pagodas are seen rising from among the gardens.

'A friend who, from the beach, had seen our ship coming in, oblingly sent the *accommodation-boat* for us, and I soon discovered its use. While I was observing its structure and its rowers, they suddenly set up a song, as they called it, but I do not know that I ever heard so wild and plaintive a cry. We were getting into the surf; the cockswain now stood up, and with his voice and his foot kept time vehemently, while the men worked their oars backwards, till a violent surf came, struck the boat, and carried it along with a frightful violence; then every oar was plied to prevent the wave from taking us back as it receded, and this was repeated five or six times, the song of the boatmen rising and falling with the waves, till we were dashed high and dry upon the beach. The boats used for crossing the surf are large and light, made of very thin planks sewed together, with straw in the seams, for caulking would make them too stiff; and the great object is, that they should be flexible, and give to the water like leather, otherwise they would be dashed to pieces. Across the very edge of the boat are the bars on which the rowers sit; and two or more men are employed in the bottom of the boat to bale out the water; they are naked all but a turban, and half a handkerchief fastened to the waist by a packthread. They are wild-looking, and their appearance is not improved by the crust of salt left upon their bodies by the sea-water, and which generally whitens half their skin. At one end of the boat is a bench with cushions and a curtain, for passengers, so that they are kept dry while the surf is breaking round the boat.

'We were hardly ashore when we were surrounded by above a hundred *Dubashis* and servants of all kinds, pushing for employment. The Dubashis undertake to interpret, to

buy all you want, to change money, to provide you with servants, tradesmen, and palanquins, and, in short, to do every thing that a stranger finds it irksome to do for himself. We went immediately to our friend's garden-house; for at Madras every body lives in the country, though all offices and counting-houses, public and private, are in the fort or in town. The garden-houses are generally only of one story; they are of a pretty style of architecture, having their porticos and virandas supported by pillars of chunam; the walls are of the same material, either white or coloured, and the floors are covered with ratan mats, so that it is impossible to be more cool. The houses are usually surrounded by a field or *compound*, with a few trees and shrubs, but it is with incredible pains that flowers or fruit are raised. During the hot winds, *tats* (a kind of mat), made of the root of the koosa grass, which has an agreeable smell, are placed against the doors and windows, and constantly watered, so that as the air blows through them, it spreads an agreeable scent and freshness through the house.

'*July* 16.—I went the other day to see the naval hospital here, a large handsome building, with an excellent garden, and very well appointed. On the top is a large platform, where the convalescents take exercise and enjoy fresh air, with the view all over Madras, its petah or Black-town, and garden-houses, to the shipping in the roads. There is a rope-walk attached to the hospital, but it wants air and is rather short; it however furnishes employment for the invalids. From the hospital I went to see the garden which the late Dr. Anderson had planted as a botanical garden, at a vast expence, but it is now in a sad state of ruin.

'We had heard so much in Europe of the slight of hand practised by the Madras jugglers, that we were very curious to see some of them. Accordingly we yesterday procured an excellent set to exhibit before us. After shewing the common tricks with the cups and balls, which were changed so as to elude the most narrow observation, and making me start at finding a serpent in my hand when I was sure I received a pebble, the principal exhibitor took up a pinch of white sand

between his finger and thumb, and scattering it gently before us, dropped it of a red, blue, or yellow colour, as we required; but that which pleased me most was throwing up eight balls into the air, so as to keep them in a ring at equal distances for a considerable time. He performed a variety of other tricks, in which, being naked from the waist upwards, he could derive no advantage from the concealment of any of his implements in his dress. The small exhibitions being over, the juggler took a round stone, as large as his head, between his heels, and making a spring with it, he threw it to a considerable height, and caught it on his shoulder, whence, by another effort, he threw it and caught it on his back, and so on, receiving it on his sides, the inner part of his elbow, his wrist, or his stomach. But the most curious, though disgusting sight, was the swallowing the sword, and in this there is no deception, for I handled the weapon both before and after he performed the operation. I should have thought that this exercise would have injured him; but he is the healthiest-looking native I have seen, well made and proportioned. They begin this trade when very young, the children exercising with short bits of bamboo, which are lengthened as the throat and stomach are able to bear them, ---a curious proof of the power of education over the body.

'*August* 10.---I have been much pleased with a visit to the *female orphan asylum.* It seems admirably conducted, and the girls neat, and very expert at all kinds of needle-work. It is really gratifying to see so many poor creatures well brought up, and put in the way of gaining a livelihood. There is likewise a *male orphan asylum*, where the boys are brought up to different trades. If such establishments are wanted anywhere, it is in India, where the numbers of half-cast, and therefore (if I may use the expression), half-parented children, exceed what one could imagine. I cannot but think it a cruelty to send children of colour to Europe, where their complexion must subject them to perpetual mortification. Here, being in their own country, and associating with those in the same situation with themselves, they have a better chance of being happy.

'I often see natives of Pondicherry, French converts, going about with boxes of lace and artificial flowers, made chiefly by the ladies of the decayed French families in that settlement. There is something in the gaiety of the French character that communicates itself to all around. I have seen a black man from Pondicherry, handle a lace, a flower, a ribbon, with all the air of a fine gentleman, and in his rags shew more politeness and gallantry, than half our Madras civil servants are possessed of. Besides these French pedlars, there are a set of Mahometans, who go about selling moco stones, petrified tamarind wood, garnet, coral, mock amber, and a variety of other trinkets, and who are, in their way, as amusing as the Frenchmen. The manner of living among the English at Madras has a great deal more of external elegance than at Bombay; but the same influences operating on the society, I find it neither better nor worse.

'*August* 18.—I was two evenings ago at a public ball in the *pantheon*, which contains, besides a ball-room, a very pretty theatre, card-rooms, and virandas. During the cold season there are monthly assemblies, with occasional balls all the year, which are very well conducted. The pantheon is a handsome building; it is used as a free-masons lodge of modern masons, among whom almost every man in the army and navy who visits Madras enrols himself. The only other public place at Madras is the Mount road, leading from fort George to St. Thomas's mount. It is smooth as a bowling-green, and planted on each side with banian and yellow tulip trees. About five miles from the fort, on this road, stands a cenotaph to the memory of lord Cornwallis. It has cost an immense sum of money, but is not remarkable for good taste: however, I love to see public monuments in any shape to great men. It is the fashion for all the gentlemen and ladies of Madras to repair, in their gayest equipages, to the Mount road, and after driving furiously along, they loiter round and round the cenotaph for an hour, partly for exercise, and partly for the opportunity of flirting and displaying their fine clothes, after which they go home, to meet again every day in the year. But the greatest lounge at Madras is during the visiting

hours, from 9 o'clock till 11, when the young men go from house to house to retail the news, ask commissions to town for the ladies, bring a bauble that has been newly set, or one which the lady has obliquely hinted, at a shopping party the day before, she would willingly purchase, but that her husband does not like her to spend so much, and which she thus obtains from some young man, one quarter of whose monthly salary is probably sacrificed to his gallantry. When all the visitors who have any business are gone to their offices, another troop of idlers appears, still more frivolous than the former, and remains till *tiffin*, at two o'clock, when the real dinner is eaten, and wines and strong beer from England are freely drank. The ladies then retire, and for the most part undress, and lie down with a novel in their hands, over which they generally sleep. About five o'clock the master of the family returns from his office; the lady dresses herself for the Mount road; returns, dresses, dines, and goes from table to bed, unless there be a ball, when she dresses again, and dances all night; and this, I assure you, is a fair, very fair account of the usual life of a Madras lady.

'*Calcutta, Sept.* 8, 1810.—Business of a most distressing nature requiring my presence at Calcutta, I left Madras, on the 26th of August, in his majesty's ship Illustrious, and arrived here so late as to make it impossible to return to Madras before the month of December, as the monsoon is set in on the coast; and I have, moreover, missed the friend to whom I came, so I am here a stranger, and in a manner a prisoner. From the time of my embarking the weather was cloudy and hot. After sailing slowly along the low coast, which was constantly obscured by haze, and passing the Jagernauth pagoda, which stands by itself on a beach of sand, that seems to have no end, the first land we made was point Palmyras, or rather the tops of the trees which give their name to this low sandy cape. On anchoring into Balasore roads, the breakers, and the colour of the water, told us that we were in the neighbourhood of land, though none was visible in any direction. The water looked like thick mud, fitter to walk upon than to sail through. Here we left the ship, and

proceeded in a pilot's schooner. Nothing can be more desolate than the entrance to the Hoogly. To the west, frightful breakers extend as far as the eye can reach, and you are surrounded by sharks and crocodiles; but on the east is a more horrible object, the black low island of Saugor. The very appearance of the dark jungle that covers it is terrific. You see that it must be a nest of serpents, and a den of tigers; but it is worse, it is the yearly scene of human sacrifice, which not all the vigilance of the British government can prevent. The temple is ruined, but the infatuated votaries of Kali plunge into the waves that separate the island from the continent, in the spot where the blood-stained fane once stood, and crowned with flowers and robed in scarlet, singing hymns to the goddess, they devote themselves to destruction; and he who reaches the opposite shore without being devoured by the sacred sharks, becomes a paria, and regards himself as a being detested by the gods. Possessed by this frenzy of superstition, mothers have thrown their infants into the jaws of the sea monsters, and furnished scenes too horrible for description; but the yearly assembly at Saugor is now attended by troops, in order to prevent these horrid practices, so that I believe there are *now* but few involuntary victims. As we advanced up the river, the breakers disappeared, the jungle grew higher and lighter, and we saw sometimes a pagoda, or a village between the trees. The river was covered with boats of every shape, villas adorned the banks, the scene became enchanting, all cultivated, all busy, and we felt that we were approaching a great capital. On landing, I was struck with the general appearance of grandeur in all the buildings; not that any of them are according to the strict rules of art, but groups of columns, porticoes, domes, and fine gateways, interspersed with trees, and the broad river crowded with shipping, made the whole picture magnificent.

Oct. 22.—The English society of Calcutta, as it is more numerous, affords a greater variety of character, and a greater portion of intellectual refinement, than that of any of the other presidencies. I have met with some persons of both sexes in

this place, whose society reminded me of that we have enjoyed together in Britain, when some of the wisest and best of our countrymen, whose benevolence attracted our affection, as their talents commanded our esteem, loved to relax from their serious occupations in the circle of their friends. Among the few here who know and appreciate these things, the most agreeable speculations are always those that point homeward to that Europe, where the mind of man seems to flourish in preference to any other land. If we look round us here, the passive submission, the apathy, and the degrading superstition of the Hindoos; the more active fanaticism of the mussulmans; the avarice, the prodigality, the ignorance, and the vulgarity of most of the white people, seem to place them all on a level, infinitely below that of the least refined nations of Europe.

'*October* 25.—This is the season of festivals; I hear the tomtoms, drums, pipes, and trumpets, in every corner of the town, and I see processions in honour of Kali going to a place two miles off, called *Kali Ghaut*, where there has long been a celebrated temple to this goddess, which is now pulled down, and another more magnificent is to be erected in its place. In all the bazars, at every shop door, wooden figures and human heads, with the neck painted blood-colour, are suspended, referring, I imagine, to the human sacrifices formerly offered to this deity, who was, I believe, the tutelary goddess of Calcutta. Three weeks ago, the festival of Kali, under the name and attributes of Doorgà, was celebrated. On this occasion her images, and those of some other divinities, were carried in procession with great pomp, and bathed in the Hoogly, which being a branch of the Ganges, is sacred. The figures were placed under canopies, which were gilt and decked with the most gaudy colours, and carried upon men's heads. Several of these moving temples went together, preceded by musical instruments, banners, and bare-headed Bramins, repeating *muntras* (forms of prayer). The gods were followed by cars, drawn by oxen or horses, gaily caparisoned, bearing the sacrificial utensils, accompanied by other Bramins, and the procession was closed by an innumerable multitude of people of all casts.

Wm Davidson Sculp.t N.Castle.

FORT WILLIAM, CALCUTTA.

'Of the public buildings of Calcutta, the *government-house*, built by lord Wellesley, is the most remarkable. The lower story forms a rustic basement, with arcades to the building, which is Ionic. On the north side there is a handsome portico, with a flight of steps, under which carriages drive to the entrance; and on the south there is a circular colonnade with a dome. The four wings, one at each corner of the body of the building, are connected with it by circular passages, so long as to secure their enjoying the air all around, from whichever quarter the wind blows. The centre of the house is given up to two rooms, the finest I have seen. The lowest is paved with dark gray marble, and supported by Doric columns of chunam, which one would take for Parian marble. Above the hall is the ball-room, floored with dark polished wood, and supported by Ionic pillars of white chunam. Both these fine rooms are lighted by a profusion of cut-glass lustres suspended from the painted ceilings, where an excellent taste is displayed in the decorations.

'Besides the government-house, the public buildings are, a *town-house*, which promises to be handsome when finished, the *court-house*, a good-looking building, and two churches, the largest of which has a fine portico, and both have handsome spires. The *hospital* and *jail* are to the south of the town, on that part of the esplanade called the *course*, where all the equipages of Calcutta assemble every evening, as those at Madras do on the Mount road. The houses now occupied by the orphan schools being ruinous, there are handsome designs for erecting new ones. The writers' buildings, to the north of the government-house, look like a shabby hospital, or poor's-house; these contain apartments for the writers newly come from Britain, and who are students at the college of fort William, which is in the centre of the buildings, and contains nothing but some lecture-rooms. At stated seasons general examinations take place at the college, and public disputations are held by the students in Persian, Hindui, and Bengalee, in the government-house, in presence of the governor-general, who usually makes a speech on the occasion, setting forth the advantages of the college, the

anxiety he feels for its success, the liberality of the company with respect to it and the college of Hertford, blaming the slothful in general, but commending the diligent by name, and medals are distributed to such as have distinguished themselves.

'Calcutta, like London, is a small town of itself, but its suburbs swell it to a prodigious city, peopled by inhabitants from every country of the world. Chinese and Frenchmen, Persians and Germans, Arabs and Spaniards, Armenians and Portugese, Jews and Dutchmen, are seen mixing with the Hindoos and English, the original inhabitants and the actual possessors of the country. This mixture of nations ought, I think, to weaken national prejudices; but, among the English at least, the effect seems to be diametrically opposite. Every Briton appears to pride himself on being outrageously a *John Bull;* but I believe it is more in the manner than in the matter, for in all serious affairs and questions of justice, every man is, as he ought to be, on a footing.

'There is something in the scenery of Barrackpore that reminds me of the beauty of the banks of the Thames; the same verdure, the same rich foliage, the same majestic body of water; here are even villas too along the banks; but the village and the cottage are wanting, whose inhabitants cannot suffer oppression unredressed, and to whom every employment is open of which their minds are capable, or their hearts ambitious enough to undertake. Perhaps there is something of pride in the pity I cannot help feeling for the lower Hindoos, who seem so resigned to all that I call evils in life. Yet I feel degraded, when, seeing them half-clothed, half-fed, covered with loathsome disease, I ask how they came into this state, and what could amend it, they answer, "It is the custom;"—"it belongs to their cast to bear this;"—and they never attempt to overstep the boundaries which confine them to it!'

Mrs. Graham describes the botanical garden under Dr. Roxburgh as being very curious, and kept in excellent order. On the 23d of December, she embarked at Calcutta, but by

accident was detained opposite fort William, and had full leisure to admire it, as the setting sun gilded its long lines and the white barracks within. The barracks are all handsome buildings, and the trees in the different squares make the whole delightfully cool. Our authoress perceived several human bodies floating on the river, surrounded by fish, or torn by wild dogs. This proceeds from the custom of carrying the deceased and infirm to the water's edge, and stuffing their mouth and ears with mud, leaving them to perish; but should a man survive this exposure he becomes a Paria, and is no longer considered as belonging to his family or children, and can have no interest in his own fortune or goods.

At Kedgiree, where the Hoogly widens to a basin, our pleasant traveller embarked for Madras; where, after spending a few weeks in examining the antiquities in the neighbourhood, so ably described by colonel Mackenzie, she procured a passage home in a frigate, where she arrived safe; having, during the voyage, touched at the cape of Good Hope, and also at St. Helena, which black, bare, and dreary rocks, have become famous, being the prison of a man who so long directed the policy of Europe.

A

JOURNEY OVER LAND

TO

INDIA,

BY

DONALD CAMPBELL, ESQ.

MR. CAMPBELL for some time commanded a regiment of cavalry in the service of the nabob of the Carnatic, by whom he was allowed a pension for his services. A variety of unpropitious circumstances compelled him to leave London in May 1781, and to hasten over land to India. His adventures and observations were written in a series of letters addressed to his son.

Having crossed the continent of Europe, he embarked at Trieste for Alexandria. Here he had the misfortune to lose his servant, whom he had sent back to Venice for letters, and from whose honesty and activity he expected much during the journey. Having touched at the island of *Zante*, he there resigned himself to melancholy. 'I now felt,' says he, 'the disquietude of domestic embarrassment—the bitterness of separation from all I loved—the solitary sadness of my situation, wandering through unknown countries—myself unknown and unfriended—aggravated at length by the loss of my servant, who was a sort of prop to my spirits—and my being cast into a ship among a people whose language I little

understood, without any soul or one circumstance to mitigate my sorrow, or console me under it; all these, I say, had wound up my feelings to the highest pitch of fortune—More miserable I could not be when the island of Zante received me, and, for the first time for a sad series of days, raised me with the transporting sound of an English voice.

'I have promised, my Frederick, to give you a candid relation, in hopes that you will improve by it: but if I thought that, on the contrary, any thing I said should tend to raise in your mind a sentiment injurious to your principles, or reflective on your father's conduct, but to be an example and admonitory guide to your own, I should condemn my candour and curse the hour that I wrote—but, I trust to your good sense and disposition, with my care to direct them; and shall, but not without hesitation, proceed.

'At the time I set out upon my journey over land to India, I was (though married, and the father of children) very young, naturally of a sanguine constitution: my attachment to the fair sex was no ways diminished by a military education; and a warmth of temper, an ardent sensibility of mind, and a frank unsuspicious disposition, left me but too often to regret the facility with which I yielded to the charms of women. But the regret for each error was wilfully smothered in vain determinations of amendment—and the promised amendment again broken in upon by some new error. Thus it was, till riper years and circumstances of weight strengthened my reason, and gave it in some greater degree that dominion it should have over my actions.

'Circumstanced as I have described myself to be, and constituted by nature and education as I have mentioned above, I landed in the charming island of Zante, where Nature herself seems to have conspired against chastity—making the very air breathe nothing but transport and delight. There I met a young lady, a native of England—extremely pretty, highly accomplished, and captivating in the extreme: she had been at Venice for her education—was a complete mistress of music, and expressed an intention of following it professionally on her arrival in England, whither she was

going passenger in a vessel bound there from Zante. To have accidentally met with a native of England, even of my own sex, in such a distant corner of the world, under such circumstances as mine, just escaped from the horrid life I had for some time led, must have filled me with joy: allowance, therefore, may be made for my feelings on meeting this young lady, and for my thinking of some expedient to prevent our separation. She laboured, perhaps, under the pressure of feelings as disagreeable as my own, and expressed her satisfaction at meeting with a countryman so very unexpectedly. Reserve was soon thrown off on both sides; we entered into a conversation interesting and confidential, which increased my anxiety to keep her with me, and in order to persuade her to accompany me, I pointed out in the strongest colours possible, the great advantages she might derive from her accomplishments in India, where her musical talents alone, exclusive of her various captivating qualities, would be an inexhaustible mine of wealth. In short, I so very eagerly enforced my proposal to accompany me, and time was so very short, that she consented, and in two hours we had arranged every thing for our departure together—and here with shame and sorrow I confess (nor shall ever cease to regret it), that this ecclairecissement communicated the first ray of substantial pleasure to my heart that it felt since I left London.

'Thus far, our project sailed before the wind: wayward imagination had decked it out in the most alluring drapery that fancy could fabricate, and prevented us from seeing the impracticability of it, as it stood in the nakedness of truth; and when it came to be carried into execution, a thousand difficulties occurred, that the wildness of passion, and the warmth of our feelings, had before concealed from our view. In the first place, it was necessarry for her to obtain the consent of a lady to whose care and protection she was committed: in the next place, accommodations were to be procured for her in the same ship with me---a circumstance of most arduous difficulty; besides which, a variety of other impediments---insuperable indeed---concurred to frustrate our views, and put an end to our project. If my pleasure at

meeting her was great, my anguish at parting with her was inexpressible. I had once more to face the world alone; and, on the second day of my sojourning at Zante, embarked with a heavy heart, and set sail for Alexandria. The last disappointments we undergo, seem always the heaviest; and this at Zante I thought at that time to be the greatest of my life. But---oh! short-sighted man! bubble of every delusive shadow! I never reflected, as I have since done, what serious mischiefs, what endless misery, what loss of time, means and reputation, I may by that providential disappointment have escaped---for these are the almost never-failing consequences of such affairs. It too often happens, that the syren who deludes a man into her snares, is the very person who inflicts the deadly wound into his heart.'

At Alexandria Mr. Campbell remained 12 days, till weary of the confined state in which he lived on account of the plague, he hired a boat to carry him to Cyprus. In this island, to his sorrow and astonishment, he found an epidemical fever, equal in its effects to the plague, prevailed. 'Still, however,' says he, 'I felt great pleasure in entering Cyprus---it was classic ground, and dedicated to Venus, the queen of love. But a traveller who visits it with the hopes of amusement, will be much disappointed; for in no particular did it seem to me to resemble that Cyprus famed in the heathen story and mythology. Of the Cyprian queen's favours the ladies seemed to boast no one mark, save the most nauseous, disgusting lewdness---and the natural fertility of the soil is half lost beneath the oppressive yoke of the servants of the Turkish government. Thus, in the extraordinary revolutions that human affairs are incessantly undergoing, that island which for its superior beauties was supposed to be the residence of love, which gave birth to the philosophers Zeno, Appollonius, and Xenophon, is now a miserable, half-cultivated spot, peopled with a mixture of wretched Turks, Jews, Greeks, and Christians ---groaning under the tyranny of a barbarous despotic abuse of delegated power---infested with locusts which devour the fruits of the earth---and disgraced by a race of ignominious

women, who esteem it to be an act of religion to prostitute themselves to all strangers.'

From Cyprus our author proceeded to *Aleppo*, where he was constrained to remain until some means of travelling occurred. 'A distant view of this city,' says he, 'fills the mind with expectations of great splendour and magnificence. The mosques, the towers, the large ranges of houses with flat roofs, rising above each other, according to the sloping hills on which they stand, the whole variegated with beautiful rows of trees, form altogether a scene magnificent, gay, and delightful: but, on entering the town, all those expected beauties vanish, and leave nothing in the streets to meet the eye, but a dismal succession of high stone walls, gloomy as the recesses of a convent or state prison, and unenlivened by windows embellished, as with us, by the human face divine. The streets themselves, not wider than some of the meanest alleys in London, overcast by the height of the prison-houses on either side, are rendered still more formidably gloomy by the solitude and silence that pervade them; while here and there a lattice towards the top, barely visible, strikes the soul with the gloomy idea of thraldom, coercion, and imprisonment.

'This detestable mode of building, which owes its origin to jealousy, and the scandalous restraints every man is empowered by the laws and religion of the place to impose upon the women consigned either by sale or birth to his tyranny, extends not to the inside of the houses, many of which are magnificent and handsome, and all admirably suited to the exigencies of the climate, and the domestic customs and manners of living of the inhabitants.

'The city is adorned, it is true, here and there, with mosques and appendant towers, called *minarets*, from which criers call the *faithful* to prayers; and in some of the streets there are arches built at certain distances from each other, so as to carry the eye directly through them, and form a vista of considerable grandeur: but all these are far from sufficient to counterbalance the general aspect of gloominess and solitude which reigns over the whole, and renders it so peculiarly

disgusting, particularly at first sight, to an Englishman who has enjoyed the gaiety and contemplated the freedom of a city in Great Britain.

'The suburbs of Aleppo, and the surrounding country, are very handsome, pleasant, and, to a person coming out of the gloomy city, in some respects interesting. Some tossed about into hill and valley lie under the hands of the husbandman; others are covered with handsome villas; and others again laid out in gardens, whither the people of Aleppo occasionally resort for amusement.

'The roofs of all the houses are flat, and formed of a composition which resists the weather effectually. On those most of the people sleep in the very hot weather: they are separated from each other by walls; but the Franks, who live contiguous to one another, and who, from their disagreeable circumstances with regard to the Turks, are under the necessity of keeping up a friendly and harmonious intercourse together, have doors of communication, which are attended with these fortunate and pleasing advantages, that they can make a large circuit without descending into the streets, and can visit each other during the plague, without running the risk of catching the infection by going among the natives below.

'There is a castle in the city which I had nearly forgotten to mention.—The natives conceive it to be a place of great strength. It could not, however, withstand the shock of a few pieces of ordnance for a day. It is esteemed a favour to be permitted to see it; and there is nothing to recompense one for the trouble of obtaining permission, unless it be the prospect of the surrounding country, which from the battlements is extensive and beautiful.

'Near this castle stands the *seragiio*, a large old building, where the bashaw of Aleppo resides: the whole of it seemed to me to be kept in very bad repair, considering the importance of the place. It is surrounded by a strong wall of great height: besides which, its contiguity to the castle is very convenient; as, in case of popular tumults, or intestine commotions, the bashaw finds an asylum in the latter, which commands and

overaws the city, and is never without a numerous garrison under the command of an *aga*.

'Such is the summary account I have been able to collect of Aleppo, the capital of Syria; which, mean though it is when compared with the capitals of European countries, is certainly the third for splendour, magnificence, and importance, in the vast extent of the Ottoman empire---Constantinople and Grand Cairo only excelling it in those points, and no other bearing any sort of competition.'

Mr. Campbell thinks the Turkish constitution not nearly so bad as it is conceived to be. The learned can always control the government, and neither blood nor splendid birth can of themselves raise a man to great offices. Their habitual tenderness and deference for the fair sex, while it speaks much for their manly gallantry, must be allowed by candour to be carried to an excess extravagant and irrational. There have been instances where the women have been guilty of the most furious outrages; where they have violated the laws in a collected body, and broke open public stores of corn laid up by the government: the magistrates attended, the janizaries were called, and came running to quell the riot---but, behold they were women who committed it: they knew no way of resisting them, unless by force; and force they could not use: so the ladies were permitted quietly to do their work in defiance of *magistrates*, *law*, *right*, and *reason!*

'While I remained at Aleppo,' says our author, 'I walked frequently about the streets, and I think I never was witness to so many broils in all my life put together, as I was in my wanderings there.---Not a time I went out that I did not observe one, two, three, and sometimes half a dozen or more. They have nothing terrible in them, however, and, were it not extremely disgusting to see men scold, would be very entertaining; for I will venture to say that a street battle "à la Turque" is one of the most ludicrous exhibitions in the world. The parties approach to each other, and retreat mutually, as the action of the one gives hopes to the other of victory, lifting their hands, and flourishing them in the air, as if ready to strike every moment, grinning and gnashing

their teeth, while their beard and whiskers besprent with the spume of their mouths, and wagging with the quick motion of their lips and ghastly contortions of their jaws, present the most ridiculous spectacle imaginable. They reminded me at the time of a verse in an old English ballad:----

'Tis merry in the hall,
When beards wag all.

'Nothing, in fact, can exceed the extravagance of their gesture: the vehement loudness of their voice, or the whimsical distortions of their countenances, in which are displayed sometimes the quickest vicissitudes of fear and fury, and sometimes the most laughable combination of both. All this time, however, not a single blow is actually struck; but they compensate for the want of bodily prowess by the exercise of the tongue, denouncing vengeance against each other, threatening instant demolition, lavishing every bitter reproach, every filthy epithet, and every horrible imprecation that they can think of, and both boasting occasionally of their patience and forbearance, which fortunately enabled them to refrain from annihilating their adversary. At last the fray gradually decays: exhausted with fatigue, and half choked with dust and vociferation, they retreat gradually backwards to their own doors; where summing up all their malignity into a most horrid execration, they part for the time, and retire to vaunt in empty threat, and growl away their rage, in the recesses of their haram.

'Yet those people are found terrible by the Christian troops that have from time to time been opposed to them: here, if proof be wanting of the effects of religion on the human mind, is an incontrovertible one of its powerful operations. Under the influence of their faith, which tells them that they go to paradise instantly if killed in battle with infidels, they perform prodigies of valour fighting against Christians; while, forbidden by that faith to imbrue their hands in the blood of a true believer, their passions have been gradually brought under the dominion of their religion, till that which at first was faith at last becomes habit, and the appropriate energy and courage

of the man has sunk in the degrading and emasculent efforts of the woman.'

The gentleman at whose house Mr. Campbell resided, though 65 years of age, had married an accomplished girl of 18. Unable to endure the disgust she felt at her situation, she resolved to elope, and Mr. Campbell imprudently became her confidant. His host discovered the whole affair, and complained to the British consul, which determined our traveller at any danger or hazard to set off. 'The person,' says he, 'on whom the consul rested his hopes of dispatching me, came in the evening, and acquainted me that he was a Tartar, and one of the vast number of that description who are employed by the Turkish state to carry dispatches from court to the various viceroys and bashaws, and interchangeably between them again; that they were men on whose fidelity the utmost reliance could be had; and that this man, who had an excellent character, had agreed to take me to Bagdad, provided I would submit to the disguise of a Tartar.

'The agreement between us I entirely submitted to the discretion of the consul, who had the goodness to settle it thus:—The Tartar was to deliver me safe at Bagdad; to supply me and my servant, who acted as interpreter, with an ample sufficiency of provisions and horses on the road; to exchange my horse for me as often as I pleased, and to go at such rate, whether faster or slower, as I thought proper: for this he was to receive 100*l.*; and I further promised, as an encouragement to him, that if he acted to my satisfaction, I would, on our arrival at Bagdad, add a douceur of 20*l.*

'The next day he came, and I had a distinct view of this my new fellow traveller and supposed master, for in several places I was to pass for his slave. He was one of those striking *character* figures that a painter would like to take a sketch of—and methought Tartar was written legibly in every lineament of his countenance and person.—He was tall, muscular, and bony—his figure bespoke great hardihood, strength, and activity—nor could the trowsers which he wore conceal the Herculean texture of his limbs—his shoulders were expanded to an enormous breadth—he was unincumbered

with flesh, or indeed rather extremely lean—his forehead, though partly concealed beneath his turban, was very high—his nose large, hooked, sharp, and prominent—a pair of small, fierce, black, penetrating eyes, barely separated by the nose, and a formidable pair of mustachios, which he carefully sleeked with pomatum into a point resembling an awl blade, and which moved like the whiskers of a purring cat, with every word he spoke, gave a whimsical ferocity to the countenance, beyond the reach of description, and rendered him altogether as discouraging a confidential friend, as ever a Christian trusted his life to since Mahomet first set up the trade of a prophet. He surveyed me with great attention—opened his mouth two or three times like a gasping pike, as if to speak—stroked his whiskers as often—and at last pronounced that he would undertake to conduct me; adding, in allusion to my black hair and dark complexion, that I looked more like a native, than any Frank he had ever seen. He ordered me to cut my hair quite short, to provide myself with a Tartar dress and cap, in the fashion of his own; and saying he would call on me in proper time, departed.

'Thus equipped, we set out, not without great pain and regret on my part; pain at leaving a most beautiful young woman, whom I pitied and esteemed, subject to the resentment of a husband, at once jealous from nature, peevish from habit, and enraged from her open and unequivocal demonstrations of hatred; and regret at having been betrayed by situation into such a very serious dilemma.

'Previous to my departure the consul did every thing that it was possible for him to do, conducive to my safety and accommodation on the road, which as we were obliged to go to the city of Diarbeker, a great length out of our way, he observed would be long, dreary, fatiguing, and hazardous; he procured me from others, and gave me himself, a number of letters, and at parting desired me to comfort myself with the reflection, that when I arrived at my journey's end, I should have to boast, that I went to India by a route never travelled by any European before.

'As I became familiarized to my Tartar guide, I found his character disclose much better traits than his first appearance bespoke, and I began insensibly to think him a very entertaining fellow: perceiving that I was very low spirited and thoughtful, he exhibited manifest marks of compassion; and taking it into his head that I was actually removed for ever from my friends and my family, he spoke in a style of regret and feeling, that did great honour to his heart: and to say the truth, he did every thing in his power to alleviate my feelings, conversing with me, either by means of the interpreter, or in broken *lingua franca*, (a mixture of languages, peculiarly useful in travelling through the east); supplying all my wants cheerfully and abundantly; changing horses with me as often as I pleased, and going slow or galloping forward just as best suited my inclination or humour.

'The first object he seemed to have in view on our journey, was to impress me with a notion of his consequence and authority, as a messenger belonging to the sultan. As all those men are employed by the magistrates of the country, and are, as it were, the links of communication between them, they think themselves of great importance in the state; while the great men whose business they are employed in, make them feel the weight of authority, and treat them with the greatest contempt: hence they become habitually servile to their superiors, and by natural consequence insolent and overbearing to their inferiors, or those who being in their power they conceive to be so. As carriers of dispatches, their power and authority wherever they go is in some points undisputed; and they can compel a supply of provisions, horses, and attendants, wherever it suits their occasions; nor dare any man resist their right to take the horse from under him to proceed on the emperor's business, be the owner's occasion ever so pressing.

'My feelings, which I can tell you were altogether of the most unpleasant kind, served as a stimulus to my mind, and increased my anxiety to get forward; I therefore pushed on as fast as the horses, which were in general excellent, could

tarry me: and as we halted at a number of stages to get fresh horses and provisions, my Tartar guide had frequent opportunities of indulging his self-importance, and displaying his great authority and power. As soon as he stopped at a caravansera, he immediately called lustily about him in the name of the sultan, demanding with an imperious and menacing tone of voice, fresh horses, victuals, &c., on the instant. The terror of this great man operated like magic; nothing could exceed the activity of the men, the briskness of the women, and the terror of the children; for the caravanseras are continually attended by numbers of the very lowest classes of the people; but no quickness of preparation, no effort or industry could satisfy my gentleman; he would shew me his power in a still more striking point of view, and fall belabouring them with his whip, and kicking them with all his might. I must confess I was much hurt at this extravagant abuse of upstart power, and was two or three times on the point of interfering; but fortunately, recollected that it would neither be in character, nor have any good effect, and that if I presumed to speak, my guide would be obliged in my defence to give me a flogging in order to prevent suspicion.

'This inconsiderate tyranny and cruelty, I had afterwards reason to believe, was by no means a part of his natural disposition; but vanity, to which so many among us in Europe fall victims, urged him to excesses, which I dare say his heart privately condemned.

'It was on the fifth or sixth day (I cannot precisely say which) after our leaving Aleppo, that we got to the city of Diarbeker, the capital of the province of that name, having passed over an extent of country of between 3 and 400 miles; most of it blessed with the greatest fertility, producing, in the few cultivated parts, grain, fruits of various kinds, and silk in great variety and abundance, and abounding with as rich pastures as I ever beheld, covered with numerous herds and flocks. The air was charmingly temperate in the daytime, but, to my feeling, extremely cold at night.

'Yet notwithstanding the extreme fertility of the country, the bad administration of the government, conspiring with

the indolence of the inhabitants, leaves it unpopulous and uncultivated. Diarbeker proper, called also Mesopotamia, from its lying between the two famous rivers Tigris and Euphrates, and by Moses PADAN ARAN, that is to say—*The fruitful Syria;* abounds with corn, wine, oil, fruits, and all the necessaries of life. It is supposed to be the seat of the *earthly paradise*, and all geographers agree that it was there the descendants of Noah first settled after the flood.

'The city of *Diarbeker* itself is situated in a delightful plain on the banks of the river Tigris, and nearly at its head; it is one of the richest, most trading, strong, and populous cities in Asiatic Turkey; and is adorned with many piazzas and market-places in the Turkish style, and a large magnificent mosque, formerly a Christian church; for Christianity flourished over this country so late as the 6th century. There is even now a sect, whose patriarch still resides here: and they shew on the road near the town, a chapel where the holy man Job is said to be buried. This city is supplied amply with water by a canal cut from the Tigris, and has many caravanseras on both sides of the river.

'Few countries in the world exceed that about this city for natural richness and beauty:—the bread and wine are excellent—the fruit beyond conception delicious—and my friend the Tartar took care, under pretence of supercilious *hauteur*, to tear in pieces a couple of fowls, and hand to me now a leg, now a wing, till I made the most delicious repast I ever remember to have eat in my life.

'It is computed that there are resident in this city no less than 20,000 Christian inhabitants, some of whom are of the church of Rome;—and perhaps it is owing to that mixture, that the fair sex have more freedom, and the men more politeness and affability, than those of any other city in the empire:—the chief business there, is making that fine leather commonly called Turkey leather.

'Figure to yourself, my dear Frederick, my Tartar guide, who was an admirable actor, sitting at a caravansera in state at his dinner, devouring excellent fowls, choice pillaws, and delicious fruit, in as great pomp as a bashaw; and in order

to keep up the semblance of authority over me, to favour my disguise, handing to me, who sat at a humble distance, a part of his provisions.----You may form to yourself an idea of the scene; but all efforts of the imagination must fall short of the manner, the figure, the words, the looks, and the actions of the Tartar; sometimes affecting contemptuous pity, sometimes the gentle blandishments of conscious superiority; and all in such a masterly style of performance, that I doubt whether Garrick himself, with all his powers of countenance, could outdo him. Critical though my situation was, and much as I was harassed with the corrosions of mental pain, the extravagant action and ludicrous pomposity of this man frequently overbore my prudence, and compelled me to laugh incontinently and loudly;---on all such occasions he would put his hands a-kimbo, draw up his eye-brows to his turban, screw down the corners of his mouth in the most rueful manner, and give a loud whew! with his eyes fixed in a stare at me, till entirely overcome with laughter, and ready to sink under it, I clapped my face between my hands, and, as well as I could, bowed in token of sorrow and submission; when threatening me vehemently, and at the same time uttering a lamentable expression of doubt that he was afraid he had had an idiot imposed on him, he would bustle about, direct the horses to be got ready, and order me to get on horseback, with many denunciations of severe treatment, and a thousand flourishes of his whip over my head.

'As I have rode along musing upon the contemptible stratagems to which I was reduced, in order to get through this country, for no other reason but because I was a Christian, I could not help reflecting with sorrow on the melancholy effects of superstition, and regretting that that place, which in the times of primitive simplicity was called the terrestrial paradise; that place where God first planted man after the flood; where the godlike Abraham and the holy Job breathed the pure air of piety and simplicity; that place which from all those circumstances ought to be considered above all others as the universal inheritance of mankind, should now be cut off from all but a horde of senseless bigots, barbarous fanatics,

and inflexible tyrants. And I could not help considering with melancholy concern, the blindness and infatuation of men, who, less earnest to accommodate themselves than injure others, shut out their fellow-creatures from that which they themselves will not use, and, while they suffer millions of the richest acres in the universe to be untilled, and spend their sweetness in the desert air, with wicked jealousy, and envy more than diabolical, begrudge to others the little spot on which they stand, and chase them as they would a ravening tiger from their country.

'As we advanced towards the southward and eastward, in our way from Diarbeker towards Bagdad, I found the air became sensibly warmer, and observed that the disposition of the people grew more and more brutal. My guide's conduct (for he knew them well) became proportionately artful, and my manners were of course to grow so much the humbler. I observed, however, that his authority continued the same, and that he seemed to exert it with greater rigour; not in severity or chastisement, but in exacting implicit obedience. Yet still he evidently acted with great caution and circumspection; for, in some districts, he either avoided the little villages by a circuitous route, or dashed through at a very quick pace, while the gaping multitude considered us as on a dispatch of haste and importance---in others, he entered the towns without reserve, and left it to chance to decide whether we should be discovered or not. At some caravanseras he treated me with affected negligence, at others he made me eat with him and drink wine, of which, in some places, he himself drank copiously, and at others as scrupulously refrained from. And sometimes we lay at night out in the open air, rather than enter a town; on which occasions I found the weather as piercing cold as it was distressingly hot in the daytime. Bred, as the man was, a mixture of slave and tyrant, I can suppose some parts of this conduct to arise from caprice; but as he was naturally kind, as many of those aberrations from the usual mode of travelling were attended with hardship and inconvenience to himself, and as my servant and the other Tartar were clearly of opinion that he was right, I am rather

disposed to believe that he, on the whole, acted from principles of sound sense and policy.

'He frequently advised me against indulging in laughter; said it was unmanly, indecorous, inconsistent with the gravity becoming a wise man, and withal dangerous.

'One evening we came to a caravansera much fatigued, the day being extremely hot, and we having rode very hard—whether it was caprice or fatigue, or the suggestion of policy that moved him, I cannot say, but he certainly was more disposed to play the tyrant than I had ever before seen him. He flogged the men who took the horses, kicked every one he met, made the house ring with his enormous voice; directed supper to be got ready, ate growling, and finding fault with every thing; and under pretence of disliking the ingredients of an excellent pillaw, handed it over to me, saying, Here, Jimmel (the name he called me), here, take this filth, and cram it down thy coarse throat, it is only fit for a Frank—I took it with the best air of humility I could assume; and tearing the meat with my fingers, which I used instead of a spoon to eat the rice, swallowed it eagerly; he watching me all the time attentively. When I had finished it, I gave him a hint in the Frank language, that I should like to wash it down with some wine; but he did not, or rather would not, understand me.

'Supper done, he ordered a servant to attend him with some water, and directed him to wash his feet; while that operation was performing, he continued menacing every one about him. My servant, who sat next me and behind him, interpreted every thing he said. "Yes, ye slaves," said he, as he lolled back upon his cushion, "yes, I will make the best of you wash my feet; for who shall refuse to wash the feet of him, who represents the sultan of the world, the son of Mahomet, the messenger of the Lord?" The poor fellow proceeded in his humble office, and only interrupted him by saying, "Blessed be my lord the sultan, and glory be to the Lord our God, and Mahomet his prophet."—"Yes, yes," continued my Tartar, "bless God and the prophet, and pray for his servant our sultan, and all who represent him like me,

that slaves of your description are permitted to live: nay, thou shalt wash this Frank's feet:" then, turning to me with an air of magisterial tenderness, "Jimmel," said he, "hold forth thy feet, and let them be washed by this disciple of Ali —I say, hold forth thy feet."

'Scarcely able to refrain from laughter at this bombardinian of the east, and his pompous manner of his issuing his orders, I drew up my trowsers and took off my boots—the man brought fresh water, and fell to rubbing my feet with great good will and humility; yet evidently felt so much hurt at the humiliation, that I was sorry for it, and would rather have dispensed with the washing, though it was a luxury.

'In the midst of this operation, the Tartar, who was reclining on his cushion, smoking, rose up, and stalking two or three times across the room, with the most ludicrous air of self-conceit and importance, took his tobacco pipe from his mouth, brandished it in ostentatious parade, and in the tone and manner rather of one that was raving than of a man in his sober senses, burst out with an emphatical expression of satisfaction, and said, "This it is to be protected by a great man: mussulmen salam to him and wash his feet."

'The extravagance of this sentiment, the absurdity of its application, and the consequential solemnity of his action and countenance while he spoke, altogether rushed upon me with such impetuous force, that I could not resist, and, in spite of every effort to restrain myself, burst into an immoderate fit of laughter.

'Had I the pencil of Hogarth, the pen of Shakespeare, or the powers of a Garrick, I might attempt to give some idea of his countenance, when, turning, he beheld me convulsed with laughter. I might attempt it, I say, but I could not do it justice. Such a combination of ludicrous expression I never beheld; it was indeed an epitome of all the lower order of human passions. Fury predominated, but it was risible fury—it was fury that rather grinned than frowned; though under it were to be seen shame and mortification, sorrow and resentment, pride and degradation, silly bashfulness and decayed importance. For some time he stood transfixed to

the spot, his eyes glittering like those of a rat in a trap; his pointed whiskers moving with the contortions of his lips, and his mouth every now and then opening like the beak of a wounded hawk. To utter his sensations he was unable; and he continued in this state, not only till my laughter was abated, but till I had time to reflect and be seriously concerned.

'At length, without saying a sentence, he wheeled about, threw off his slippers, drew on his boots, vociferated till he brought all the people of the caravansera about him, and ordered horses to be ready instantly. As orders from such a person were not likely to be disobeyed, the horses were got ready. I saw that I must either proceed, or come to an open rupture with him; so recollecting that I was myself in fault, that a dispute might be fatal, and that at all events it was only the humour of the moment, I drew on my boots too, and was ready to go, though I was much fitter for a 12 hours' nap than for an hour's travelling on horseback.

'We mounted immediately, and it was my good fortune to have the best horse. He set out upon the gallop, the moon shining as bright almost as day; I put forward my horse, and kept rather before him, which vexed him so, that he beat the poor animal he rode on most unmercifully. At length, after about 8 or 10 miles riding, he called a halt—dismounted, and said he would rest there all night. I saw it was all resentment: but knowing that it would be in vain to remonstrate, I dismounted too; and, judging the best way to mortify him in return, was to comply with affected approbation, turned to my servant and told him (knowing that it would go from him to the Tartar) that I was delighted with the beauty of the night; remarking at the same time, that lying in the sweet salubrious air was far preferable to being confined in the sultry filth of a caravansera.

'As soon as this was communicated to the Tartar, he remarked, that the open air was the fittest place for the beasts of the forest, and therefore suitable to a Frank; but, for his part, he would much rather repose on a cushion, which he

should have done, had it not been for my accursed risible faculties.

'Here the conversation rested, and we fell asleep. In a few hours he awoke us, and we set forward: after some pause, he began in the following manner, which was interpreted to me, as he spoke, by my servant:

'"Surely God made laughter for the derision and shame of mankind, and gave it to the Franks and the monkies; for the one *ha*, *ha*, *ha's*, and the other *he*, *he*, *he's*, and both are malicious, mischievous, and good for nothing but to fret and tantalize all that come cross them."

'Here he paused, as waiting for something to be said: however, I remained silent. At length, he continued: "Not but that, with all their laughter, they have the wisdom to take special care of themselves; for half a dozen monkies will *he*, *he*, *he*, and empty a whole orchard of its fruit in the reckoning of a hundred; and as a Frank will *ha*, *ha*, *ha*, and eat you up pillaws and poultry like a wolf, and drink up wine with the same moderation that a camel drinks up water."

'I thought I should have choked with smothered laughter: I would not however interrupt him, and so contrived to keep it to myself: he proceeded to apothegmatize:

'"But with all their *he*, *he*, *he's*, and *ha*, *ha*, *ha's*, it sometimes turns out that they are caught: the monkey is seized in a trap, and caged or knocked in the head, and the Frank is put in jail, and bastinadoed or hanged; and then the tune is changed, and it is *Oh*, *ho*, *ho!*" Here he began to mimic crying so admirably, and at the same time so ridiculously, that I burst out laughing again.

'"Observe, Jimmel," said he hastily, "observe! you can't refrain! But by our holy prophet," said he seriously, "it may end as I said: so look to yourself, and avoid laughter in caravanseras, or we part; for there are places, and that was one of them last night, where suspicion would ruin you. And if you lost your life, what should I say for myself on my return to Aleppo? Eh, what should I say for myself? Ha, ha, ha! would not do. No, no, they would not believe it, and I should lose my character."

'"Why, don't you laugh yourself," said I.

'"Very seldom, or rather never," returned he; "at least I would not in time of danger. No, no, none but Christians and monkies make a practice of laughter—Turks and Tartars are wiser." I promised him, that I would in future take more care; and, by way of appeasing him with a little flattery, said, that he played his part so admirably, it was impossible to resist the impulse. But he answered, with a grave face, that his action in that case was of too serious a nature to be made a subject of merriment—and advised me to believe it so.

'The solicitude of my guide for my safety was the earnestness of a man of business zealous to discharge with the utmost punctuality the duty he had undertaken; and I must observe to you, that the whole of his conduct evinced a precision and punctuality of dealing rarely found in our intercourse with mankind.

'As soon as the remembrance of the laughing affair was a little decayed, the Tartar began to relax into good humour, and to talk with his usual vehemence; for he was always, according to the flow of his spirits, either sullenly silent or extravagantly loquacious.

'That he conceived me to be in some respects a parcel of property I have good reason to believe: for I observed that at some caravanseras the people collected round me, and regarded me with strong symptoms of surprise and pity; some viewed me with commiseration, some with contempt; but not one creature, however wretched or abject, seemed to envy my situation.

'One morning I was awakened before daybreak with a bustle in the caravansera where we lodged. I conjectured that the Tartar was preparing to get forward, and rose in order to lose no time. I was so far right in my conjectures: the horses were ready, and I came out to mount, and was very much surprised to perceive several horses before me loaded with something which stood erect from their backs, and which I had barely light to discern were not men. I concluded that they were bales of merchandise packed in a

particular form, and asked no questions till full daylight disclosed to me that they were human creatures tied up in sacks and fastened astride on the horses' backs. There was a strange union of horror and oddity in the conception, that struck me at once with a mixed emotion of indignation, pity, and mirth.—The former, however, got the better, and I asked my servant with some warmth what it meant.—He said that the sacks contained some young women whom the Tartar had bought.—"Good God!" said I, "is it possible that he can have bought wretched females to treat them with so little tenderness?" "He has bought them," returned my servant, "in the way of traffic, not for pleasure."

'"Suppose he has," said I, "suppose even they were men, not to mention young women, how can he imagine that they will survive this? Tied up and sweltered in a sack—fastened cross-legs on a horse, and driven at such an amazing rate (for by this time we had set forward, and another Tartar was whipping the horses up all the time, and driving them on)—how is it possible they can survive? They must be smothered—they must be shattered to pieces—they must be strippen, excoriated, and tortured to death!"

'"If I might presume to advise," said he, "I would say that you had better make no remarks upon it: it would only get them perhaps worse treated, and raise his anger against you."

'To conclude, I took his advice, and kept my mind to myself. The unfortunate women were in this manner carried 50 miles, at the end of which their tender-hearted purchaser disposed of them in some way of keeping till his return; when I suppose they were to be carried back in sacks astride upon horses, all the way to Aleppo, there to be sold to the highest bidder.

'From the considerations I have already pretty fully mentioned, my mind was by no means at ease. The incessant travelling for so many days, at the rate of 75 miles a day, to be continued I knew not how long, increased my anxiety: and the apprehensions of accident, interruption, and above all intercepting me on my way, haunted my imagination

with all its terrors. I was besides approaching fast to that region where the winds strike all living things that draw them instantly dead: and conceiving that the more expeditious I was in getting over the journey, the greater chance I had of escaping those mischiefs; I pushed heartily forward, and urged the Tartar till he at last expressed his astonishment and approbation; paid me the compliment to say, that I was almost equal to himself for enduring fatigue; and concluded with a very sagacious surmise, that in all probability I had been myself a carrier of dispatches among the Frank governments.

'One day after we had rode about four miles from a caravansera, at which we had changed our cattle, I found that a most execrably bad horse had fallen to my lot: he was stiff, feeble, and foundered; in consequence of which he stumbled very much, and I every minute expected that he would fall and roll over me. I therefore proposed to the guide to exchange with me; a favour he had hitherto never refused, and for which I was the more anxious, as the beast he rode was of the very best kind. To my utter astonishment he peremptorily refused: and as this had been a day of unusual taciturnity on his part, I attributed his refusal to peevishness and ill temper, and was resolved not to let the matter rest there. I therefore desired the interpreter to inform him, that as he had at Aleppo agreed to change horses with me as often as I pleased, I should consider our agreement infringed upon if he did not comply, and would write to the consul of Aleppo to that effect.

'As soon as this was conveyed to him, he seemed strongly agitated by anger; yet endeavoured to conceal his emotions under affected contempt and derision, which produced from him one of the most singular grins that ever yet marred the human physiognomy. At length he broke forth:

'"You will write to Aleppo, will you? Foolish Frank! they will not believe you! By Mahomet, it would be well done to hear the complaint of a wandering Frank against Hassam Artaz—Hassam the faithful and the just, who for 10 years and more had been the messenger of an emperor,

and the friend and confidant of cadis, bashaws, and viceroys, and never yet was called so much as liar! Who, think you, poor misguided one! who, think you, would believe that I broke my promise?"

'"Why do you not then," said I, interrupting him, "why do you not perform it by changing horses, when you are convinced in your conscience (if you have any) that it was part of your agreement?"—"Once for all I tell you," interrupted he, "I will not give up the horse. There is not," said he gasconadingly, "there is not a mussulman that ever wore a beard, not to talk of a wretched Frank, that should get this horse from under me; I would not yield him to the commander of the faithful this minute, were he in your place: I would not, I tell you, Frank—and I have my own reasons for it."

'"I dare say you have," returned I; "love of your ease, and fear of your bones."

'At hearing this, he grew quite outrageous—called Mahomet and Alla to witness that he did not know what it was to fear any thing—declared that he was convinced some infernal spirit had that day got possession of me—and indeed seemed well disposed to go to loggerheads. At length observing that I looked at him with sneering contemptuous defiance, he rode up along side of me—I thought it was to strike, and prepared to defend myself. I was, however, mistaken; he snatched the reins out of my hand, and caught hold of them collected close at the horse's jaw; then fell flogging my horse and spurring his own, till he got them both into full speed; nor did he stop there, but continued to belabour mine with his whip, and to spur his own, driving headlong over every impediment that came in our way, till I really thought he had run mad, or designed to kill me. Several times I was on the point of striking him with my whip, in order to knock him off his horse—but as often patience providentially came in to my assistance, and whispered to me to forbear and see it out. Mean time I considered myself as being in some danger; and yet such was the power he had over the cattle, that I found it impossible to stop him:

so resigning the event to the directions of Providence, I suffered him without a further effort to proceed; I calling him every opprobrious name I could think of in lingua Franca, and he grinning, and calling me *dumus*, *jihash*, *burhl* (i. e. hog, ass, mule), in rapid and impetuous vehemence of tone and utterance.

'He continued this for a length of I dare say for some miles, over an uncultivated tract, here and there intersected with channels formed by rills of water in the periodical rains; thickly set with low furze, ferns, and other dwarf bushes, and broken up and down into little hills. His horse carried him clean over all: and though mine was every minute stumbling and nearly down, yet with a dexterity inexpressible, and a vigour altogether amazing, he kept him up by the bridle, and I may say *carried* him gallantry over every thing, I was astonished very much at all this, and towards the end as much pleased as astonished; which he perceiving, cried out frequently and triumphantly, "O, la Frangi! Heli! Heli! Frangi!" and at last drawing in the horses, stopping short, and looking me full in the face, exclaimed in lingua Franca, "Que dice, Frangi—Que dice?"

'For some time I was incapable of making him any answer, but continued surveying him from head to foot as the most extraordinary savage I had ever beheld; while he stroked his whiskers with great self-complacency and composure, and nodded his head every now and then, as much as to say, Ay, ay, it is so! look at me! am not I a very capital fellow?—— "A capital fellow indeed you are," said I, "but I wish I was well out of your confounded clutches."

'We alighted on the brow of a small hill, whence was to be seen a full and uninterrupted prospect of the country all round. The interpreter coming up, he called to him and desired him to explain to me carefully the meaning of what he was about to say; which I will give you as nearly as I can in his own words, as they were translated by the linguist:

'"You see those mountains yonder," said he, pointing to to the east; "those are in the province of *Kurdestan*,

inhabited by a vile race of robbers called *Jesides*, who pay homage to a God of their own called *Jesid* (Jesus), and worship the devil from fear. They live by plunder, and often descend from those mountains, cross the Tigris which runs between them and us, and plunder and ravage this country in bands of great number and formidable strength, carrying away into slavery all they can catch, and killing all who resist them. This country therefore, for some distance round us, is very dangerous to travellers, whose only safety lies in flight. Now it was our misfortune this morning to get a very bad horse, for which, please Alla (stroking his whiskers), some one shall receive the bastinado. Should we meet with a band of those Curds, what could we do but fly? And if you, Frangi, rode this horse, and I that, we could never escape: for I doubt you could not keep him up from falling under me, as I did under you: I should therefore come down and be taken—you would lose your guide, and miss your way, and all of us be undone. Besides," continued he, "there are many villages here where people live, who, if they only suspected you were a Frank, would follow and sacrifice you if they could to Mahomet, and where of course you must run for it."

'As soon as the interpreter had explained this to me, "Well," continued the Tartar, "what does he say now to it?" Then turning to me, and tossing up his head—"Que dice, Frangi?"

'"Why, I say," returned I, "that you have spoken good sense and sound reason; and I am obliged to you."

'This, when interpreted fully, operated most pleasingly upon him; his features relaxed into a broad look of satisfaction, and he said:—"I will do every thing I can to make you easy and contented: and when I am obstinate, don't resist—for be assured I have reason for it; and above all things avoid laughing in my presence. But we shall reach Mosul by and by, and probably then we may have no more rides." For I expected to get down the river Tigris from Mosul to Bagdad, and had told him so, and he encouraged me with the expectation.

'That night we came to a caravansera which lay at some distance from a village. Here the Tartar, pleased with himself for the conduct of the day, and pleased with me for my approbation of it, ordered a most admirable supper; and not only, as was common with him, rejected the best dish in order to present it to me, but also selected for me the choicest bits of those upon the table. He then ordered wine, observing that the fatigue of a government messenger demanded indulgence; and using a salvo of my suggestion on a former occasion, viz. that the prophet would not be offended with travellers more than with the sick for taking it as it were *medicinally*.

'The next morning we had excellent cattle; fear produced wonders among them, and we set forward just as the sun rose. As we entered the first village, I was somewhat alarmed by perceiving my guide draw up his horse---deliberate---mutter to himself---and seemed rather uneasy while he viewed a crowd that was up the street before us; some of whom I perceived to be agitated with some extraordinary motions of the body, while one man stood in the middle, rolling his body into a variety of strange contortions.---The Tartar, for a minute or two, seemed to be debating within himself whether he should proceed or turn about: at length putting me on his left hand, he set forward at full speed, leaving the crowd on his right, who, seeing the rapidity of our pace, flew on one side, and let us pass. We soon, however, heard shouting behind us, and could hear plainly the words "Ghiaour! Frangi Cucu!" and looking back, perceived several ragged men like savages pursuing us, lifting stones occasionally, and casting them after us with all their might. The speed of our horses at last got us out of both sight and hearing; and I plainly perceived, and was for the first time convinced, that my guide's conduct was directed by sound sense, spirit, good faith, and integrity.

'The difficulties and hazards of the journey, which seemed to thicken upon us as we advanced, made me pant for a speedy conclusion to it; and the adventure of the last day opened more clearly to my view the dangers we had to encounter, which were still likely to increase as we got to the

eastward and southward, where the fury of bigotry raged without remorse; where the greater distance from the seat of government made the populace more lawless, and the magistrate more corrupt and tyrannical; where the total seclusion from all well ordered society rendered the manners barbarous; where strangers were seldom seen, and when seen fleeced and persecuted; and where particularly, I had reason to believe, scarcely any Englishman had ever set his foot; and above all, where the very winds that blew were charged with destruction, and carried instant death upon their wings.

'It was early in the evening when the pointed turrets of the city of Mosul opened on our view, and communicated no very unpleasant sensations to my heart. I found myself on scripture ground; and could not help feeling some portion of the pride of the traveller, when I reflected that I was now within sight of *Nineveh*, renowned in holy writ.—The city is seated in a very sandy barren plain, on the banks of the river Tigris, embellished with the united gifts of Pomona, Ceres, and Flora. The external view of the town is much in its favour, being encompassed with stately walls of solid stone, over which the steeples or minarets of other lofty buildings are seen with increased effect. Here I first saw a large caravan encamped, halting on its march from the gulf of Persia to Armenia; and it certainly made a noble appearance, filling the eye with a multitude of grand objects, all uniting to form one magnificent whole.

'But though the outside be so beautiful, the inside is most detestable: the heat is so intense, that in the middle of the day there is no stirring out; and even at night the walls of the houses are so heated by the day's sun, as to produce a disagreeable heat to the body at a foot or even a yard distance from them. However, I entered it with spirits, because I considered it as the last stage of the worst part of my pilgrimage. —But, alas! I was disappointed in my expectation; for the Tigris was dried up by the intensity of the heat, and an unusual long drought; and I was obliged to take the matter with a patient shrug, and accommodate my mind to a journey on horseback, which, though not so long as that I had already

made, was likely to be equally dangerous, and which therefore demanded a full exertion of fortitude and resolution.—There are a thousand latent energies in every man, which only want the powerful voice of necessity to call them out: and now drawn to the top of my bent, I prepared my mind to set out in the morning, with as much cheerfulness as if the hopes of water carriage to Bagdad had never once occurred to my mind.

'It was still the hot season of the year, and we were to travel through that country, over which the horrid wind I have before mentioned sweeps its consuming blasts; it is called by the Turks *samiel*, is mentioned by holy Job under the name of the *east wind*, and extends its ravages all the way from the extreme end of the gulf of Cambaya up to Mosul; it carries along with it fleaks of fire, like threads of silk; instantly strikes dead those that breathe it, and consumes them inwardly to ashes; the flesh soon becoming black as a coal, and dropping off from the bones.

'But besides this, the ordinary heat of the climate is extremely dangerous to the blood and lungs, and even to the skin, which it blisters and peels away from the flesh, affecting the eyes so much, that travellers are obliged to wear a transparent covering over them to keep the heat off.

'That night, Hassan said, that as we must proceed to Bagdad on horseback, he would stay the next at Mosul to refresh us; which I objected to: he then spoke of the succeeding part of the journey as a thing of nothing: we had already come near 900 miles, and had not above five to go: besides, as the weather was warmer, we would travel more in the night, and lie-by in the daytime, in places with which he was well acquainted.

'In short, the poor fellow seemed to take an interest in my safety, and to wish to alleviate the pains of my mind; and he always concluded with a remonstrance against laughing, which from frequently hearing I now understood even in his own language.—"Don't laugh, Jimmel, don't laugh," he would say with great solemnity.—By and by, I observed, that when he was well disposed to me, he always called me Jimmel (a

name which I presume he constructed, with my servant's assistance, from the resemblance of sound between Campbell and camel, *jimmel* being the Turkish name for that animal); and when angry, he called me Frangi, with all its gradations of Turkish abuse, Dumus, Cucu, &c.

'After passing through an immense tract of country, distinguished by nothing that could serve even as a circumstance to mark and remember our daily journies, but which I observed to grow manifestly worse, both in soil and climate, as we proceeded southward, we came in sight of the famous city of Bagdad, on the seventh day from that on which we left Mosul, and on the eighteenth from that of my departure from Aleppo; in which 18 days we had rode 1,400 miles, partly through a route which no European, I have reason to believe, ever took before.'

Here Mr. Campbell was kindly entertained by an Armenian. On parting from his Tartar guide, this poor, rough, and unpolished Turk betrayed the strongest marks of sensibility. From this city our traveller set out on horseback to a place on the Tigris, where he embarked in a boat and proceeded to Bassora. On the passage he and the boat's crew had an engagement with several boats manned with robbers which were beat off, and it was not till the end of 10 days that he reached the above port.

'From Bassora,' says our author, 'I took my passage in a date-boat going to Muskat, expecting to get from thence a speedy passage to Bombay; but the boat sprung a leak at sea, and we were obliged to run into Busheer, where I was very hospitably received and entertained by Mr. Galley, the company's resident.

'There really seemed to be an unusual fatality attending me throughout the whole of my journey. You will recollect, in the first instance, I was prevented, by the war with France, from going by the direct route which I should otherwise have taken, and obliged to pass through the Low Countries and Germany----In the next place, at Venice I was diappointed in obtaining a passage to Latachæa; and, immediately on the heels of that, lost my servant at Trieste, by sending him for

letters to Venice—Afterwards, when I had gone to Alexandria with expectations of travelling through Egypt, and viewing that interesting part of the world, I found myself prevented by the unhappy circumstances of the country—the plague raging in Alexandria, and all the roads being blocked up by an incursion of the Arabs. Thus mortified and disappointed, I turned about, in order to make my way in another direction; and arriving at Cyprus, found, to my infinite surprise and regret, that an epidemic disease, little short of the plague, prevailed there, and swept off the inhabitants in great numbers: when, after surmounting all those obstacles, I arrived at Aleppo, the first information I got was, that the caravan was gone, and that it would be a long time before another would be ready; and my departure from Aleppo was attended with circumstances no less inauspicious than my entrance—At Mosul I experienced another disappointment, by the river's being dried up, and rendered impracticable by boats—My passage from Bassora to Muskat was impeded by the vessel springing a leak—And now, when at last I hoped to get from Busheer to Bombay, I was stopped by the intelligence that the gulf was blocked up by French privateers, insomuch as no vessel could hope to escape. I was therefore obliged to remain at Busheer, till a company's frigate, commanded by captain Hardy, and soon expected, should afford me an opportunity of proceeding to Bombay. Time, however, brought that period about; and I took my passage, and arrived safe at Bombay, where I soon after embarked on board a Portuguese vessel, being the only conveyance that offered for me to proceed to Madras: she was first bound to Goa, and we arrived safely at that island, where I was received with great politeness, and treated with the most friendly attention, by Mr. Henshaw, the English resident.

'I was impatient to get from Goa, and yet I looked forward to my departure with a secret uneasiness, for which I was entirely unable to account.—In spite of me, I became the very slave of gloomy presentiment; and in order to get the succedaneous aid of a friend's reason, as well as to be prepared, I communicated the state of my feelings to Mr. Henshaw.

In vain he endeavoured to cheer me: all he could do was to give me his counsel; in consequence of which I actually settled all my affairs up to that day, made my will, left it with Mr. Henshaw, and, full of dreadful forebodings of shipwreck, went on board a Portuguese snow bound to Madras.

'It was now the 18th day of May when we sailed from Goa. The hemisphere had been for some days overcast with clouds: some light showers of rain had fallen; and you may conclude that it did not tend to raise my spirits, or free me from my ominous apprehensions, to hear that these circumstances indicated an approaching gale of wind. I observed, moreover, that the vessel was much too deep in the water, being greatly overloaded—that she was in many respects defective, and, as the seamen say, ill-found, and in short very unfit to encounter a gale of wind of any violence. I scorned, however, to yield to those united impressions, and determined to proceed.

'On the 19th, the sky was obscured by immense fleeces of clouds, surcharged with inflammable matter; and, in the evening, the rain fell in torrents, the firmament darkened apace, sudden night came on, and the horrors of extreme darkness were rendered still more horrible by the peals of thunder which rent the air, and the frequent flashes of lightning, which served only to shew us the horror of our situation, and leave us in increased darkness: mean-time the wind became more violent, blowing on the shore; and a heavy sea, raised by its force, united with it to make our state more formidable.

'By daylight on the morning of the 20th, the gale had increased to a furious tempest; and the sea, keeping pace with it, ran mountain-high; and as it kept invariably to the same point, the captain and officers became seriously alarmed, and almost persuaded that the south-west monsoon had set in, which, if it were so, would render it absolutely impossible for us to weather the coast. All the day, however, we kept as close as the violence of the weather would allow us to the wind; but the sea canted her head so to leeward, that she made more lee than head-way; and the rigging was so strained with the work, that we had little hope of keeping off the shore.

unless the wind changed, of which there was not now the smallest probability. During the night there was no intermission of the snow: many of the sails flew into ribbons; some of the rigging was carried away; and such exertions were made, that before morning, every stick that could possibly be struck was down upon the deck.

'About seven o'clock on the morning of the 21st, I was alarmed by an unusual noise upon the deck, and, running up, perceived that every remaining sail in the vessel, the fore-sail alone excepted, was totally carried away. The sight was horrible; and the whole vessel presented a spectacle as dreadful to the feelings as mortifying to human pride. Fear had produced, not only the helplessness of despondency, but all the mischievous freaks of insanity. In one place stood the captain, raving, stamping, and tearing his hair in handfuls from his head---here, some of the crew were cast upon their knees, clapping their hands, and praying, with all the extravagance of horror painted in their faces---there, others were flogging their images with all their might, calling upon them to allay the storm. One of our passengers, who was purser of an English East-Indiaman, had got hold of a case-bottle of rum, and, with an air of distraction and deep despair imprinted in his face, was stalking about in his shirt. I perceived him to be on the point of serving it about, in large tumblers, to the few undismayed people; and well convinced, that, so far from alleviating, it would sharpen the horrors of their mind, I went forward, and with much difficulty prevented him.

'Having accomplished this point, I applied myself to the captain, and endeavoured to bring him back (if possible) to his recollection, and to a sense of what he owed to his duty as a commander, and to his dignity as a man: I exhorted him to encourage the sailors by his example; and strove to raise his spirits, by saying that the storm did not appear to me by any means so terrible as some I had before experienced.

'Just at this crisis, the water, which rushed with incredible force through all ports of the vessel, brought out floating, and nearly suffocated, another English passenger, who was

endeavouring to take a little repose in a small cabin boarded off from the deck: he was a very stout young man, and full of true spirit. Finding that the vessel was not, as I had thought, going immediately down, he joined me in exhorting the captain to his duty: we persuaded him to throw the guns overboard, as well as a number of trunks and packages with which the vessel was much encumbered; and, with some little exertion, we got the pumps set agoing.

'The name of the English passenger, who assisted me in getting the captain and mariners to do their duty, was Hall. He was a young man of a most amiable disposition, and with it possessed all that manly spirit that gives presence of mind in exigences of danger. He and I having, with great difficulty, got some hands to stick to the pumps, stood at the wheel, at once to assist the men, and prevent them from quitting it; and, although hopeless, determined that no effort practicable on our parts should be wanting to the preservation of the vessel. The water, however, gained upon the pumps, notwithstanding every effort; and it evidently appeared that we could not keep her long above water.

'At 10 o'clock the wind seemed to increase, and amounted to a downright hurricane: the sky was so entirely obscured with black clouds, and the rain fell so thick, that the objects were not discernible from the wheel to the ship's head. Soon the pumps were choked, and could no longer be worked: then dismay seized on all---nothing but unutterable despair, silent anguish, and horror, wrought up to frenzy, was to be seen; not a single soul was capable of an effort to be useful—all seemed more desirous to extinguish their calamities by embracing death, than willing, by a painful exertion, to avoid it.

'At about 11 o'clock we could plainly distinguish a dreadful roaring noise, resembling that of waves rolling against rocks; but the darkness of the day, and the accompanying rains, prevented us from seeing any distance; and if they were rocks, we might be actually dashed to pieces on them before we could perceive them. At 12 o'clock, however, the weather cleared up a little, and both the wind and the sea seemed to

have abated; the very expansion of the prospect round the ship was exhilerating; and as the weather grew better, and the sea less furious, the senses of the people returned, and the general stupefaction began to decrease.

'The weather continuing to clear up, we in some time discovered breakers and large rocks without side of us; so that it appeared we must have passed quite close to them, and were now fairly hemmed in between them and the land.

'In this very critical juncture, the captain, entirely contrary to my opinion, adopted the dangerous resolution of letting go an anchor, to bring her up with her head to the sea: but, though no seaman, my common sense told me that she could never ride it out, but must directly go down. The event nearly justified my judgment; for she had scarcely been at anchor before an enormous sea, rolling over her, overwhelmed and filled her with water, and every one concluded that she was certainly sinking----On an instant, a Lascar, with a presence of mind worthy an old English mariner, took an axe, ran forward, and cut the cable.

'On finding herself free, the vessel again floated, and made an effort to right herself; but she was almost completely water-logged, and heeled to larboard so much that the gunnel lay under water. We then endeavoured to steer as far as we could for the land, which we knew could not be at any great distance, though we were unable to discover it through the hazy weather: the fore-sail was loosened; by great efforts in rolling, she righted a little, her gunnel was got above water, and we scudded as well as we could before the wind, which still blew hard on shore; and at about two o'clock the land appeared at a small distance a head.

'The love of life countervails all other considerations in the mind of man. The uncertainty we were under with regard to the shore before us, which we had reason to believe was part of Hyder Aly's dominions, where we should meet with the most rigorous treatment, if not ultimate death, was forgotten in the joyful hope of saving life; and we scudded towards the shore in all the exulting transports of people just snatched from the jaws of death.

'This gleam of happiness continued not long: a tremendous sea rolling after us, broke over our stern, tore every thing before it, stove in the steerage, carried away the rudder, shivered the wheel to pieces, and tore up the very ring-bolts of the deck----conveyed the men who stood at the wheel forward, and swept them overboard. I was standing, at the time, near the wheel, and fortunately had hold of the taffarel, which enabled me to resist in part the weight of the wave. I was, however, swept off my feet, and dashed against the main-mast. The jerk from the taffarel, which I held very tenaciously, seemed as if it would have dislocated my arms: however, it broke the impetus of my motion, and in all probability saved me from being dashed to pieces against the mast.

'I floundered about in the water at the foot of the mast, till at length I got on my feet, and seized a rope, which I held in a state of great embarrassment, dubious what I should do to extricate myself. At this instant I perceived that Mr. Hall had got upon the capstern, and was waving his hand to me to follow his example: this I wished to do, though it was an enterprise of some risk and difficulty; for, if I lost the the hold I had, a single motion of the vessel, or a full wave, would certainly carry me overboard. I made a bold push, however, and fortunately accomplished it. Having attained this station, I could the better survey the wreck, and saw that the water was nearly breast-high on the quarter-deck, for the vessel was deep-waisted; and I perceived the unfortunate English purser standing where the water was most shallow, as if watching with patient expectation its rising, and awaiting death: I called to him to come to us, but he shook his head in despair, and said, in a lamentable tone, "It is all over with us! God have mercy upon us!"-----then seated himself with seeming composure on a chair which happened to be rolling about in the wreck of the deck, and in a few minutes afterwards was washed into the sea along with it, where he was speedily released from a state ten thousand times worse than death.

'During this universal wreck of things, the horror I was in could not prevent me from observing a very curious circumstance, which at any other time would have excited laughter, though now it produced no other emotion than surprise---We happened to be in part laden with mangoes, of which the island of Goa is known to produce the finest in the world; some of them lay in baskets on the poop: a little black boy, in the moment of the greatest danger, had got seated by them, devouring them voraciously, and crying all the time most bitterly at the horrors of his situation!

'The vessel was now completely water-logged; and Mr. Hall and I were employed in forming conjectural calculations how many minutes she could keep above water, and consoling one another on the unfortunate circumstances under which we met---lamenting that fate had thus brought us acquainted only to make us witnesses of each other's misery, and then to see one another no more.

'As the larboard side of the vessel was gradually going down, the deck, and of course the capstern, became too nearly perpendicular for us to continue on it: we therefore foresaw the necessity of quitting it, and got upon the starboard side, holding fast by the gunnel, and allowing our bodies and legs to yield to the sea as it broke over us. Thus we continued for some time: at length the severity of the labour so entirely exhausted our strength and spirits, that our best hope seemed to be a speedy conclusion to our painful death; and we began to have serious intentions of letting go our hold, and yielding ourselves up to the fury of the waves.

'The vessel, which all this time drifted with the sea and wind, gradually approximated the shore, and at length struck the ground, which for an instant revived our almost departed hopes; but we soon found that it did not in the smallest degree better our situation---Again I began to yield to utter despair---again I thought of letting go my hold, and sinking at once: it is impossible, thought I, ever to escape---why, then, prolong, for a few minutes, a painful existence that must at last be given up? Yet, yet, the all-subduing love of life suggested, that many things apparently impossible had

come to pass; and I said to myself, If life is to be lost, why not lose it in a glorious struggle? Should I still survive it by accident, life will be rendered doubly sweet to me, and I still more worthy of it by persevering fortitude.

'While I was employed in this train of reflection, I perceived some of the people collecting together, talking, and holding a consultation----It immediately occurred to me, that they were devising some plan for escaping from the wreck, and getting on shore: and, so natural is it for man to cling to his fellow-creature for support in difficult or dangerous exigencies, I proposed to Mr. Hall to join them, and take a share in the execution of the plan----observing to him at the same time, that I was determined at all events to quit the vessel, and trust to the protection and guidance of a superintending Providence for the rest.

'I argued with myself, in the height of my calamitous situation, upon the subject of fortitude and dejection, courage and cowardice; and, notwithstanding the serious aspect of affairs, found myself listening to the suggestions of pride: What a paltry thing to yield, while strength is left to struggle! Vanity herself had her hint, and whispered, "Should I escape by an effort of my own, what a glorious theme of exultation!" There were, I confess, transitory images in my mind, which, co-operating with the natural attachment to self-preservation, made me persevere, and resolve to do so, while one vestige of hope was left for the mind to dwell on.

'Observing, as I told you before, the people consulting together, and resolving to join them, I made an effort to get to the lee shrouds, where they were standing, or rather clinging; but before I could accomplish it, I lost my hold, fell down the hatchway (the gratings having been carried away with the long-boat), and was for some minutes entangled there amongst a heap of packages, which the violent fluctuations of the water had collected on the lee side. As the vessel moved with the sea, and the water flowed in, the packages and I were rolled together----sometimes one, sometimes another, uppermost; so that I began to be apprehensive I should not be able to extricate myself: by the merest accident, however,

I grasped something that lay in my way, made a vigorous spring, and gained the lee shrouds. Mr. Hall, who followed me, in seizing the shrouds, came thump against me with such violence that I could scarcely retain my hold of the rigging. Compelled by the perilous situation in which I stood, I called out to him for God's sake to keep off, for that I was rendered quite breathless and worn out: he generously endeavoured to make way for me, and, in doing so, unfortunately lost his hold, and went down under the ship's side. Never, never, shall I forget my sensations at this melancholy incident----I would have given millions of worlds that I could have recalled the words which made him move; my mind was wound up to the last pitch of anguish: I truly may say, that this was the most bitter of all the bitter moments of my life, with which the other circumstances of the shipwreck seemed lessened---for I had insensibly acquired an unusual esteem and warm attachment for him, and was doubtful whether, after being even the innocent occasion of his falling, I ought to take further pains to preserve my own life. All these sensations were passing with the rapidity of lightning through my thoughts, when, as much to my astonishment as my joy, I saw him borne by a returning wave, and thrown among the very packages from which I had just before, with such labour and difficulty, extricated myself---In the end he proved equally fortunate, but after a much longer and harder struggle, and after sustaining much more injury.

'I once more changed my station, and made my way to the poop, where I found myself rather more sheltered----I earnestly wished Mr. Hall to be with me, whatever might be my ultimate fate---and beckoned to him to come to me; but he only answered by shaking his head, in a feeble desponding manner---staring at the same time wildly about him: even his spirit was subdued; and despair, I perceived, had begun to take possession of his mind.

'Being a little more at ease in my new station than I had been before, I had more time to deliberate, and more power to judge. I recollected, that, according to the course of time, the day was far gone, and the night quickly approaching: I

reflected, that for any enterprise whatsoever, day was much preferable to night; and above all I considered, that the vessel could not hold longer together----I therefore thought, that the best method I could adopt would be, to take to the water the first bouyant thing I could see; and, as the wind and water both seemed to run to the shore, to take my chance in that way of reaching it. In pursuance of this resolution, I tore off my shirt, having before that thrown off the other parts of my dress---I looked at my sleeve buttons, in which was set the hair of my departed children---and, by an involuntary act of the imagination, asked myself the question, "Shall I be happy enough to meet them where I am now about to go?---shall those dear last remains, too, become a prey to the devouring deep?"----In that instant, reason, suspended by the horrors of the scene, gave way to instinct; and I rolled my shirt up, and very carefully thrust it into a hole between decks, with the wild hope that the sleeve buttons might yet escape untouched. Watching my opportunity, I saw a log of wood floating near the vessel, and, waving my hand to Mr. Hall as a last adieu, jumped after it. Here again I was doomed to aggravated hardships----I had scarcely touched the log when a great sea snatched it from my hold: still as it came near me, I grasped at it ineffectually, till at last it was completely carried away, but not before it had cut and battered and bruised me in several places, and in a manner that at any other time I should have thought dreadful.

'Death seemed inevitable; and all that occurred to me now to do, was to accelerate it, and get out of its pangs as speedily as possible; for, though I knew how to swim, the tremendous surf rendered swimming useless, and all hope from it would have been ridiculous. I therefore began to swallow as much water as possible; yet, still rising by the bouyant principle of the waves to the surface, my former thoughts began to recur; and whether it was that, or natural instinct, which survived the temporary impressions of despair, I know not----but I endeavoured to swim, which I had not done long, when I again discovered the log of wood I had lost floating near me, and with some difficulty caught it: hardly had it been an

instant in my hands, when, by the same unlucky means, I lost it again. I had often heard it said in Scotland, that if a man will throw himself flat on his back in the water, lie quite straight and stiff, and suffers himself to sink till the water gets into his ears, he will continue to float so for ever: this occurred to me now, and I determined to try the experiment; so I threw myself on my back in the manner I have described, and left myself to the disposal of Providence; nor was I long till I found the truth of the saying---for I floated with hardly an effort, and began for the first time to conceive something like hopes of preservation.

'After lying in this manner, committed to the discretion of the tides, I soon saw the vessel---saw that it was at a considerable distance behind me. Liveliest hope began to play about my heart, and joy fluttered with a thousand gay fancies in my mind: I began to form the favourable conclusion, that the tide was carrying me rapidly to land from the vessel, and that I should once more touch *terra firma.*

'This expectation was a cordial that revived my exhausted spirits: I took courage, and left myself still to the same all-directing Power that had hitherto preserved me, scarcely doubting that I should soon reach the land. Nor was I mistaken; for, in a short time more, without effort or exertion, and without once turning from off my back, I found myself strike against the sandy beach. Overjoyed, as you may well suppose, to the highest pitch of transport at my providential deliverance, I made a convulsive spring, and ran up a little distance on the shore; but was so weak and worn down by fatigue, and so unable to clear my stomach of the salt water with which it was loaded, that I suddenly grew deadly sick, and apprehended that I had only exchanged one death for another, and in a minute or two fainted away.

'How long I continued in the swoon into which I had fallen, it is impossible for me to tell; but, when I recovered, I found myself surrounded by a guard of armed soldiers, sepoys, and pikemen. I knew them immediately to be the troops of Hyder Aly, and almost wished myself back into the waves again. Looking round, I saw that the people and effects that

had been saved from the wreck were collected all together along with me.

'In this state we remained till it was dark. A Lascar belonging to the vessel, perceiving that my nakedness gave me great concern, tore into two a piece of cloth which he had tied round his waist, and gave me one part of it, which afforded a short apron. This simple act of a poor, uninformed black man, whom Christian charity would call an idolator, methought had more of the true and essential spirit of charity in it, than half the ostentatious, parading newspaper public charities of London—the slough of purse-proud vanity, and unwieldy bloated wealth. Of all the acts of beneficence that I ever met with, it struck me the most forcibly: it had kindness, disinterestedness, and delicacy, for its basis; and I have never since thought of it without wishing that I could meet the man, to reward him for his beneficence with a subsistence for life. The lower order of people of a certain country, I know, would think a man in such circumstances as I was then in, a fitter object of pleasantry than pity.

'The vast quantity of salt water I had swallowed, still made me deadly sick in the stomach: however, after some time, I threw it up, and got great relief. I had scarcely felt the comfortable effects of this, before I was ordered to march: nine of us, all Lascars except myself, were conveyed to a village at a few miles distance on the sea-side, where we were for the night put into a square place, walled round, open to the inclemency of the weather above and below, and filled with large logs of wood; it blew most violently, and the rain fell in torrents—while not one smooth plank could be found on which to stretch our fatigued and wasted bodies. Thus, naked, sick, exhausted with fatigue and fasting, drenched with wet, and unable to lie down, our misery might be supposed to be incapable of increase. But, alas! where are the bounds which we can set to human woe?—Thrist, that most dreadful of pains, occasioned by the drenching with salt water, seized us: we begged, we entreated, we clamoured, for water; but the inhuman wretches, deaf to the groans and screeches of their fellow-creatures, (for some grew delirious with the agony of

thirst), refused them even the cheap and miserable indulgence of a drop of water!

'Indeed, a night of more exquisite horror cannot be imagined. The thoughts of being a prisoner to Hyder Aly, was, of itself, sufficient to render me completely unhappy: but my utter want of clothes almost put me beside myself; and lying exposed to the open air, where I was glad to sit close to the Lascars to receive a little heat from their bodies, and to hold open my mouth in order to catch a drop of the descending rain, was a state that might be considered as the highest refinement upon misery.

'About four o'clock in the morning, a little cold rice was brought us to eat, and water was dug out of a hole near the spot for us; but as all things in this life are good or bad merely relatively, this wretched fare was some refreshment to us. I was then removed to the ruins of a toddy-hut, (a small temporary hut, where *toddy*, a liquor extracted from the cocoa nut tree, is sold), separated from the rest, and a guard set over me. Here I had full room for reflection, and could "meditate e'en to madness." The whole of my situation appeared before me with all its aggravating circumstances of horror; and to any one who considers it, I believe it will appear that it was hardly possible to fill the bitter cup of calamity fuller.

'In this state I was, when, to my utter astonishment, and to my no less joy, the amiable companion of my shipwreck, Mr. Hall, appeared before me. I scarcely knew how to think his appearance reality, as I understood that the Lascars (natives of India, employed as sailors, &c.) then along with me were all that were saved from the wreck; and he was, at the time I parted from him, so exhausted both in body and mind, that I thought he would be the last who could escape. He, however, shook me by the hand; and, sitting down, told me that he had given me up for lost, and remained with the vessel until the sea, having ebbed, left her almost dry—that, immediately on getting ashore, and being taken prisoner, he made inquiries about me, and heard that I had been saved—that, finding this, his joy was such as to make him almost

forget his own misfortunes---and, exerting all his entreaties not to be separated from me, they had been so far indulgent to him, and had brought him to me, that we might be companions in bondage. He added that out of 11 Europeans and 56 Lascars who were on board, only he and I of the former, and 14 of the latter, were saved from the wreck, the rest having been drowned in the attempt, excepting some who, overcome with terror, anguish and anxiety, and exhausted with fatigue, had bid a formal adieu to their companions, let go their hold, and calmly and voluntarily given themselves up to the deep.

'Perceiving that he stood as much in need of relief as I did when the Lascar relieved me by dividing his cloth, I took mine off, tore it in two, and gave him half of it: you may well conceive our misery from this, if other circumstances were wanting, that such a thing as a rag of linen, not worth six pence, was a very material accommodation to us both.

'Mr. Hall and I endeavoured with all our might to stem the headlong torrent of our fate.---Melancholy preyed deeply and openly upon him, while I concealed mine, and endeavoured to cheer the sinking spirits of that noble youth, who, I perceived, was the prey rather of extreme sensibility than feebleness of mind. All the horrors of shivering nakedness, though, to a mind delicate like his, and a person reared in the lap of luxury, sufficiently goading, appeared as nothing when compared with one loss he had sustained in the depredations with which shipwreck is constantly followed up. In the cruel suspense between life and death, which I have already described, previous to my getting on shore, this amiable young man had secured and treasured next his heart, as the inseparable companion of his fate, a miniature picture of a young lady: it hung round his neck, and was, by the unfeeling villains who seized him on his landing, taken away. This cruel deprivation was an incessant corrosive to his mind---the copious source of anguish to his heart---the hourly theme of the most pathetic, afflicting exclamations. "Had I," he would cry, "oh! had I had but the good fortune to have gone to the bottom while yet it hung about my neck, I should have been

happy: but now, separated from the heavenly original, and bereft of the precious image, what is life? what would be life were I yet sure of it? What pleasure, what common content, has the world left for me? None—oh! none, none! Never shall this heart again know comfort!"

'For some days we lay in this place, exposed to the weather, without even the slender comfort of a little straw to cover the ground beneath us—our food, boiled rice, served very sparingly twice a-day by an old woman, who just threw a handful or more of it to each upon a very dirty board, which we devoured with those spoons Nature gave us.

'At the end of that time, we, and, along with us, the Lascars, were ordered to proceed into the country, and drove on foot to a considerable distance, in order to render up an account of ourselves to persons belonging to government, authorized to take it. It was advanced in the morning when we moved, without receiving any sort of sustenance; and were marched in that wasting climate eight hours, without breaking our fast; during which time we were exposed alternately to the scorching heat of the sun and heavy torrents of rain, which raised painful blisters on our skin: we had often to stand exposed to the weather, or to lie down, under the pressure of fatigue and weakness, on the bare ground; then wait an hour, or more, at the door of some insolent, unfeeling monster, until he finished his dinner, or took his afternoon's nap; and when this was over, drove forward with wanton barbarity by the people who attended us.

'Two days after this, we were moved again, and marched up the country by a long and circuitous route, in which we underwent every hardship that cruelty could inflict, or human fortitude endure—now blistered with the heat, now drenched with the rain, and now chilled with the night damps—destitute of any place but the bare earth to rest or lay our heads on, with only a scanty pittance of boiled rice for our support—often without water to quench our thirst, and constantly goaded by the guards, who pricked us with their bayonets every now and then, at once to evince their power, entertain the spectators, and mortify us. We arrived at *Hydernagur*,

the metropolis of the province of Biddanore——a fort of considerable strength, mounting upwards of 70 guns, containing a large garrison of men, and possessed of immense wealth.

'It was about two o'clock in the morning when we arrived at *Biddanore:* the day was extremely hot, and we were kept out under the full heat of that broiling sun until six o'clock in the evening, before we were admitted to an audience of the *jemadar*, or governor of the place, without having a mouthful of victuals offered to us after the fatiguing march of the morning.

'While we stood in this forlorn state, a vast concourse of people collected about, and viewed us with curiosity. Looking round through those who stood nearest, I observed some men gazing at me with strong marks of emotion, and a mixture of wonder and concern pourtrayed in their countenances.——Surprised to see such symptoms of humanity in a Mysore Indian, I looked at them with more scrutinizing attention, and thought that their faces were familiar to me. Catching my eye, they looked at me significantly, as though they would express their regard and respect for me, if they dared; and I then began to recollect that they were formerly privates in my regiment of cavalry, and were then prisoners at large with Hyder.

'I was not less surprised that those poor fellows should recognise me in my present miserable fallen state, than effected at the sympathetic feeling they disclosed. I returned their look with a private nod of recognition; but, seeing that they were afraid to speak to me, and fearing I might injure them by disclosing our acquaintance, I forbore any thing more. The guilty souls of despotic governments are perpetually alive to suspicion: every look alarms them; and alarm or suspicion never fails to be followed up with proscription or death.

'While we stood in the court, waiting to be brought before the jemadar, we presented a spectacle that would have wrung pity, one would think, from the heart of a tiger, if a tiger was endued with reflection. At length we were summoned to appear before him, and brought into his presence. I had made up my mind for the occasion——determined to deport

myself in a manly, candid manner—and to let no consideration whatsoever lead me to any thing disgraceful to my real character, or unworthy of my situation in life; and, finally, had prepared myself to meet, without shrinking, whatever misfortunes might yet be in store for me, or whatever cruelties the barbarous disposition or cruel policy of the tyrant might think proper to inflict.

'On entering, we found the jemadar in full *durbar* (court). He was then occupied with the reading of dispatches, and in transacting other public business. We were placed directly opposite to him, where we stood near an hour, during which time he never cast his eyes towards us: but when at last he had concluded the business in which he was engaged, he deigned to look at us, we were ordered to prostrate ourselves before him: the Lascars immediately obeyed the order, and threw themselves on the ground; but I contented myself with making a salam, in which poor Mr. Hall, who knew not the eastern manner as I did, followed my example.

'As soon as this ceremony was over, the jemadar (who was no other man than the famous Hyat Sahib that has made some noise in the history of that war) began to question me. He desired to know, who I was?—what my profession was? what was the cause and manner of my approaching the country of Hyder Aly?—To all these questions I gave answers that seemed to satisfy. He then asked me, what news I had brought with me from Europe? inquired into the state of the army, and number of recruits dispatched in the ships of that season—was minute and circumstantial in his questions respecting the nature and success of the war in Europe—and examined me closely, touching the resources of the East India company. I saw his drift, and was cautious and circumspect in my answers, and at the same time contrived to speak with an air of candour that in some sort satisfied him.

'Having exhausted his whole string of questions, he turned the discourse to another subject—no less than his great and puissant lord and master, Hyder, of whom he had endeavoured to impress me with a great, if not terrible idea—amplifying his power, his wealth, and the extent and opulence of his

dominions----and describing to me, in the most exaggerated terms, the number of his troops----his military talents----his vast, and, according to his account, unrivalled genius----his amazing abilities in conquering and governing nations-----and above all, his many amiable qualities, and splendid endowments of heart, no less than understanding.'

The jemadar next endeavoured to demonstrate the folly of Europeans attempting to oppose the irresistible power of Hyder; after which, he invited Mr. Campbell, as the son of colonel Campbell, to sit on a mat near him, where he was presented with betle nut, rose water, and other compliments. As Mr. Campbell was returning to the fort he had the *coup de grace* given to his miseries, by being informed that Hyder intended to honour him with a respectable command in his service. Our unfortunate traveller, however, resolved to resist every entreaty or menace, and to lay down his life, though in obscurity, with honour.

Shortly after, Mr. Campbell was again honoured with an audience by the jemader, received clothes, victuals, and money, and was sent to the house of a man high in office. This man, after an artful introduction, offered him the command of 5,000 men. On rejecting the proposal he was dismissed. 'When I returned to my prison,' says he, 'I related to my companion, Mr. Hall, every thing that passed between us: we canvassed the matter fully, and he agreed with me, that it was likely to turn out a most dreadful and cruel persecution. It was on this occasion that I first felt the truth of the principle, that persecution never fails to be subversive of its own end, and to promote that which it is intended to destroy. There is, in the human mind, an innate abhorrence of compulsion; and persecution always gives new strength and elasticity to the soul; and at last, when strained to its utmost extent, makes man surmount difficulties which at first seem to be beyond the reach of humanity.

'Picqued by the idea of persecution, I began to feel a degree of enthusiasm which I was before a stranger to: I looked forward, with a kind of gloomy pleasure, to the miseries that brutal tyranny might inflict upon me, even to

death itself; and already began to indulge the exultation of martyrdom. "No," said I, "my dear Hall! never will I tarnish the character of a British soldier---never will I disgrace my blood or my profession---never shall an act of mine sully the pure fame of my revered father---never shall any sufferings of mine, however poignant, or worldly advantage, however seductive, tempt me to do that which his noble spirit would regard with horror or contempt. I may, and I foresee I must be miserable; but I never will be base or degenerate!" Indeed, I had wrought myself up to such a pitch of firmness, that I am persuaded the most exquisite refined cruelties which the ingenuity of an Iroquois Indian could have inflicted on my body, would have been utterly incapable of bending the stubborn temper of my mind.

'The place in which we were lodged was situated in a way not very favourable to our feelings. Just within sight of it, the commandant of the citadel held a court---by him yclep'd a *court of justice*---where the most shocking, barbarous cruelties were hourly exercised---most of them for the purpose of extorting money, and compelling the discovery of hidden, or suppositious hidden treasure. Indeed, 5-6ths of those who suffered were of this description; and the process pursued was as artful as barbarous: they first began with caresses, then proceeded to examination and cross-examination, thence to threats, thence to punishment, and, finally, to the most cruel tortures.

'Directly opposite to us, was imprisoned an unfortunate person, who had for years been a close captive, and the sport and subject of those enormities. He was a man once of the highest rank of the country where now he was a prisoner: for a series of years he had been governor and sole manager of the whole province of Bidanore. This was during the reign of the last *rana*, or queen, whose family had been sovereigns of the country for time immemorial, till Hyder made a conquest of, and annexed it to his other usurpations. Unfortunately for him, he was supposed to have amassed and secreted enormous treasures, in consequence of which he had already

undergone the fiery ordeal of torture several times. I myself saw him treated with the highest respect, and afterwards brought to the lowest stage of misery and humiliation. One thing, however, I must not forget, is the fortitude with which he and all of them bore their punishment: it was truly heroic —indeed, beyond all belief. Nothing could surpass it, except the skill and inventive ingenuity which the barbarians exhibited in striking out new modes of torture.

'Mr. Hall, notwithstanding the various sufferings both of mind and body which he had undergone, began to recruit, and get a little better; and this circumstance, of itself, diffused a flow of spirits over me that contributed to my support. We consoled each other by every means we could devise—sometimes indulging in all the luxuries of woe—sometimes rallying each other, and, with ill-dissembled sprightliness, calling on the goddess Euphrosyne to come with her "*quips and cranks, and wreathed smiles:*" but, alas! the mountain nymph, sweet Liberty, was far away, and the goddess shunned our abode. We, however, began to conceive that we might form a system for our relief, and, by a methodical arrangement, entrench ourselves from the assaults of grief: to this end, we formed several resolutions, and entered into certain engagements—such as, never to repine at our fate, *if we could*—to draw consolation from the more dreadful lot of others, *if we could;* —and to encourage hope—hope that comes to all; and, on the whole, to confine our conversation as much as possible to subjects of an agreeable nature: but these, like many other rules which we lay down for the conduct of life, were often broken by necessity, and left us to regret the fallibility of all human precautionary systems.'

After decidedly refusing to enter Hyder's service, Mr. Campbell was yet repeatedly urged on the subject. 'They then,' says he, 'had recourse to menace; then they withheld the daily pittance allowed for my support; and at length proceeded to coercion, tying a rope round my neck, and hoisting me up to a tree. All this, however, I bore firmly: if it had any effect, it was to confirm me in my resolution,

and call in policy to the aid of honour's dictates. Every man of feeling or reason must allow, that it was better to die, than live a life of subjection to tyranny so truly diabolical.

'Mr. Hall and I, thus drove to the brink of extinction, yet consoled ourselves with the reflection, that those whom most we loved were not sharing our unhappy fate, and were fortunately ignorant of our sufferings; and as I enjoyed perfect good health, hope yet lived within me.

'Thus we continued for many months, during which no alteration whatsoever took place in our treatment or situation. We heard a thousand contradictory reports of victories gained over the English, and again some successes on their part: they, however, desisted to press me into their service.

'Projects and hopes of a new kind now began to intrude themselves on my thoughts; and I conceived a design, which I flattered myself was not altogether impracticable, to effect an escape, and even a revolt in the place. A variety of circumstances concurred to persuade me, that the tyranny of Hyder, and his servant Hyat Sahib, was abhorred, though none dared to give vent to their sentiments. I thought I could observe, that the native prisoner opposite to me was privately beloved, and might, from the recollection of his former dignities, have considerable influence in the place. Several Arcot sepoys and their officers (some of them belonging to my own regiment) were also prisoners at large; and withal I recollected, that difficulties apparently more stupendous had been overcome by Englishmen—having often heard it asserted, that there was not a prison in the known world out of which a British subject had not made his escape.'

He now began to form projects for his escape, and to sound the officers of the Arcot sepoys. Whether these proceedings were discovered or not does not appear; but, so it was, while his sanguine mind was overflowing with hope, all these schemes were unexpectedly frustrated. 'Mr. Hall and I,' says our author, 'were one day unexpectedly loaded with irons, and fastened together, leg by leg, by one bolt. This, as nearly as I can compute, was four or five months before my release. Of all the circumstances of my life, it has made the strongest

impression upon my mind: it unexpectedly and suddenly broke down the most pleasing fabric my imagination had ever built. The surprise occasioned by the appearance of the irons, and the precautionary manner in which it was undertaken, was indeed great: still more was I surprised to observe, that the person who was employed to see this put in execution, manifested unusual emotions, seemed much affected, and even shed tears as he looked on: and while the suddenness and cautionary mode of doing it convinced me that some resistance on our part was apprehended, the sorrow which the officer who superintended it disclosed, portended in my mind a fatal, or at least a very serious issue.

'Unfortunately, poor Mr. Hall had for some time been afflicted with a return of his dreadful disorder, the dysentery; and our being shackled together increased an unconquerable mortification of feelings which he had before undergone, from a delicacy of nature that would have done honour to the most modest virgin, be her sensibility ever so exquisite, or her delicacy ever so extreme. From this unlucky event, I received a temporary depression; and the rapidly increasing illness of poor Hall rendered my situation more than ever calamitous; when, again, my spirits, eagerly prone to grasp at every thing that gave a momentary hope of support, were a little recruited by confused rumours of the English army having made a descent on the Malabar coast: and so powerful is the influence of mind on the animal system, that Mr. Hall enjoyed from the report a momentary alleviation of his malady; but, having no medical assistance, nor even sufficient sustenance to further the favourable operations of nature, he relapsed again; the disease fell upon him with redoubled fury: a very scanty portion of boiled rice, with a more scanty morsel of stinking salt fish or putrid flesh, was a very inadequate support for me, who, though emaciated, was in health—and very improper medicine for a person labouring under a malady such as Mr. Hall's, which required comfort, good medical skill, and delicious nutritious food. The tea which Hyat Sahib had given me was expended; and we were not allowed to be shaved from the hour we were put in irons, an indulgence of that

kind being forbidden by the barbarous rules of the prison: and, to refine upon our tortures, sleep, "the balm of hurt minds," was not allowed us uninterrupted; for, in conformity to another regulation, we were disturbed every half hour by a noise something resembling a watchman's rattle, and a fellow who, striking every part of our irons with a kind of hammer, and examining them lest they should be cut, broke in upon that kind of restorative, and awoke our souls to fresh horrors.

'As it must be much more naturally matter of astonishment that any bodily strength could support itself under such complicated calamities, that infirmity should sink beneath them, you will be rather grieved than surprised to hear that poor Mr. Hall was now approaching to his end with hourly accelerated steps. Every application that I made in his favour was refused, or rather treated with cruel neglect and contemptuous silence; and I foresaw, with inexpressible anguish and indignation, that the barbarians would not abate him in his last minutes one jot of misery, and that my most amiable friend was fated to expire under every attendant horror that mere sublunary circumstances could create. But that pity which the mighty, the powerful, and enlightened denied, natural benevolence operating upon an uniformed mind, and scanty means, afforded us. Hyat Sahib, the powerful, the wealthy, the governor of a great and opulent province, refused to an expiring fellow-creature a little cheap relief—while a poor sepoy taxed his little means to supply it: one who guarded us, of his own accord, at hazard of imminent punishment, purchased us a lamp and a little oil, which we burned for the last few nights.

'Philosophers and divines have declaimed upon the advantages of a well-spent life, as felt *in articulo mortis;* and their efforts have had, I hope, some effect upon the lives of many. To witness one example such as Mr. Hall set forth, would be worth volumes of precepts on this subject. The unfeigned resignation with which he met his dissolution, and the majestic fortitude with which he looked in the face the various circumstances of horror that surrounded him, rendered him the most dignified object I ever beheld or conceived, and the

most glorious instance of conscious virtue triumphing over the terrors of death, and the cunning barbarity of mankind. About a quarter of an hour before he died, Mr. Hall broached a most tender subject of conversation, which he followed up with a series of observations, so truly refined, so exquisitely turned, so delicate, and so pathetic, that it seemed almost the language of inspiration, as if, in proportion to the decay of the body, intellect increased, and the dying man had become all mind. Such a conversation I never remembered to have heard, or heard of. Its effects upon me were wonderful; for, though the combination of melancholy circumstances attending my now critical situation had almost raised my mind to frenzy, the salutary influence of his words and example controled the excesses of my sensations; and I met the afflicting moment of his departure with a degree of tranquillity, which, though not to be compared to his, has on reflection appeared to me astonishing. This conversation continued to the very instant of his death; during which time he held my hand clasped in his, frequently enforcing the kind expressions to me with a squeeze—while my sorrow, taking its most easy channel, bedewed my face with tears. As he proceeded, my voice was choaked with my feelings; and I attempted once or twice in vain to speak. His hand grew cold: he said his lower limbs were all lifeless, and that he felt death coming over him with slow creeping steps—He again moralized, thanking God with pathetic fervour for his great mercy in leaving him his intellects unclouded, and the organ of communication (the tongue) unenfeebled, that, to the last, he might solace his friend and fellow-sufferer.—"Ah! Campbell!" continued he, "to what a series of miseries am I now leaving you! Death in such circumstances is a blessing—I view mine as such; and should think it more so, if it contributed, by awakening those people to a sense of their cruelty, to soften their rigour to you: but cruelty like their's is systematic, and stoops not to the control of the feelings. Could I hope that you would yet escape from their clutches, and that you would once more press your family to your bosom, the thought would brighten still the moment of our separation: and, oh! my friend! could I still

further hope that you would one day see my most beloved and honoured parents, and tell them of my death without wringing their hearts with its horrid circumstances, offer them my last duties, and tell how I revered them----If, too, you could see my ....., and tell her how far, far more dear than ....!" Here he turned his eyes towards the lamp, then faintly on me----made a convulsive effort to squeeze my hand ----cried out, "Campbell! oh, Campbell! the lamp is going out!" and expired without a groan.

'For some time I was lost in grief for the death of Mr. Hall. No partner to share, no social converse to alleviate, no friend to console me under my afflictions, I looked at the body of my friend with envy, and lamented that death had not afforded me, too, a shelter from the cruelties which fate seemed determined to heap upon me.

'It is impossible for me to express to you the agonies of mind I underwent during the rest of the night. In the morning, a report was made to the commandant, of the death of Mr. Hall; and in about an hour after, he passed me by, but kept his face purposely turned away from me to the other side. I patiently waited for the removal of the dead body till the evening, when I desired the sepoys who guarded me to apply for it being removed. They returned, and told me that they could get no answer respecting it. Night came on, but there was no appearance of an intention to unfetter me from the corpse. The commandant was sitting in his court, administering, in the manner I have before described, *justice!* I called out to him myself with all my might, but could get no answer from him. Nothing could equal my rage and consternation; for, exclusive of the painful idea of being shackled to the dead body of a friend I loved, another circumstance contributed to make it a serious subject of horror. In those climates, the weather is so intensively hot, that putrefaction almost instantly succeeds death; and meat that is killed in the morning, and kept in the shade, will be unfit for dressing at night. In a subject, then, on which putrefaction had made advances even before death, and which remained exposed to the open air, the process must have been much more rapid. So far, however,

from compassionating my situation, or indulging me by a removal of the body, their barbarity suggested to them to make it an instrument of punishment; and they pertinaciously adhered to the most mortifying silence and disregard of my complaints. For several days and nights it remained attached to me by the irons. I grew almost distracted—wished for the means of putting an end to my miseries by death, and could not move without witnessing some new stage of putrescence it attained, or breathe without inhaling the putrid effluvia that arose from it—while myriads of flies and loathsome insects rested on it, the former of which every now and then visited me, crawling over my face and hands, and lighting in hundreds on my victuals. I never look back at this crisis without confusion, horror, and even astonishment; and, were it not connected with a chain of events preceding and subsequent to it, too well known by respectable people to be doubted, and too much interwoven with a part of the history of the last war in India to admit of doubt, I should not only be afraid to tell, but absolutely doubt myself whether the whole was not the illusion of a dream, rather than credit the possibility of my enduring such unheard-of hardships without loss of life or deprivation of senses.

'At last, when the body had reached that shocking loathsome state of putrefaction which threatened that further delay would render removal abominable, if not impossible, the monsters agreed to take it away from me—and I was so far relieved: but the mortification and injury I underwent from it, joined to the agitation of the preceding week, made a visible inroad on my health. I totally lost my spirits; my appetite entirely forsook me: my long-nourished hopes fled; and I looked forward to death as the only desirable event that was within the verge of likelihood or possibility.

'One day, my opposite friend (the native prisoner) gave me a look of the most interesting and encouraging kind; and I perceived a more than usual bustle in the citadel, while the sepoys informed me that they were ordered on immediate service, and that some events of great importance had taken place. From this feeble gleam, my mind, naturally active,

though depressed by circumstances of unusual weight, again took fire, and hope brightened with a kind of gloomy light the prospect before me: I revolved a thousand things, and drew from them a thousand surmises; but all as yet was only conjecture with me. In a day or two, the bustle increased to a high pitch, accompanied with marks of consternation: the whole of the troops in the citadel were ordered to march; and the commandant, and a man with a hammer and instruments, came to take off my irons.

'While they were at work taking off my irons, I perceived that they were taking off those of the native prisoner opposite to me also. He went away under a guard: we looked at each other complacently, nodded and smiled, as who should say, "we hope to see one another in happier times not far distant." But, alas! vain are human hopes, and short and dark is the extent of our utmost foresight! This unhappy man, without committing any sort of offence to merit it, but in conformity to the damnable, barbarous policy of those countries, was, by the jemadar's orders, taken forth, and his throat cut! This the jemadar himself afterwards acknowledged to me----and, what was still more abominable if possible, undertook to justify the proceeding upon the principles of reason, sound sense, and precedent of Asiatic policy.'

This sudden resolution to release Mr. Campbell, arose from a descent having been made on the coast of Malabar by general Mathews, who, mounting the Hussaingurry ghaut, carrying every thing before him, with the fixed bayonet, was now pushing on to Hydernagur. The death of Hyder about this time facilitated the progress of the British arms.

'I walked out of the citadel,' says Mr. Campbell, 'with two or three men who had got charge of me: it was a delightful afternoon; and my sensations on once more revisiting the open air—at again viewing the vast expanse of the firmament above, and the profusion of beauties with which nature embellished the earth beneath——were too blissful, too sublime, for description. My heart beat with involuntary transports of gratitude to that Being from which all sprung; and I felt that man is, in his nature, even without the intervention of his

reason, a being of devotion. For an hour of such delight as I then experienced, a year of imprisonment was, I thought, hardly too dear a price. Those exquisite sensations insensibly led my heart to the most flattering presages: the animal spirit appeared to have, in correspondence with the body, shaken off a load of chains; and as I walked along, I seemed to tread on air.

'As we proceeded forward, we found, at some distance from the fort, an open dooly, into which the guards forcibly crammed me; and I was carried off, still attended by the same men. As we went along, they gave me to understand that Hyat Sahib, the jemadar, was at a place ten or a dozen miles distant from Bidanore. I thought it within myself a most extraordinary circumstance, and was at a loss to conjecture for what purpose he required my presence there. Perhaps, thought I, it is to deliver me personally into the hands of Tippoo---perhaps to send me to Seringapatam. Suspense whetted my curiosity; and impatience to know my fate, set my mind afloat upon a wide sea of conjecture. Still, however, my senses acknowledged a degree of pleasure indescribable---I inhaled the fresh air with greediness, and, as I snuffed it in, said to myself, "Well, well---at the worst, this will enliven my spirits, and lay up a new stock of health and vigour, to enable me to endure with manhood whatever other sufferings the barbarians, into whose hands I have fallen, may have in store for me."

'When we had got about a mile from the fort, we met a person attended by three others, all on horseback. He was a man of considerable rank in that country, and I recollected to have seen him at the jemadar's durbar, where he had manifested a favourable disposition towards me, looking always graciously, and nodding to me, which, considering my circumstances and his, was not a little extraordinary. The moment he recognized me, he leaped from his horse, apparently in great agitation: then turning to the guards, ordered them to leave me immediately---saying at the same time that he would be answerable for the consequences. They seemed at first to hesitate whether they would obey him or not; but on his

shaking at them his sword, which was all along drawn in his hand, and smeered with blood, and repeating his orders a second time in a firm and decisive tone of voice and manner, they all ran off.

'As soon as we were alone, he revealed to me, that he had all along known who I was—had most heartily pitied my sufferings, and privately entertained the most anxious wishes to serve me, but could not venture to interfere—the least jealousy, when once awakened, being there always followed up by summary punishment. He then mentioned his name, informing me that he was the son of a nabob near Vellore, whose dominions had been wrested from him by force, and united to the Carnatic; that his family had received great favours from my father, in return for which he thought himself bound to do me every service in his power; but that, having been, after the misfortunes which befel his family, taken into the service of Hyder, and holding then a place of consequence under him, he was disqualified from demonstrating his gratitude and esteem in the way he wished: he added, he had just come from the summit of the ghauts, where he left the English army posted, after their having beat the Circar troops, and carried all the strong works which had been erected for the defence of the passes, and were deemed from their situation impregnable; that the jemadar, Hyat Sahib, had gone thither to encourage the troops, and animate them to one grand effort of resistance, and would remain there till the succeeding day —Here he stopped, and seemed much agitated; but, recovering himself soon, said, in a solemn and alarming manner, "This day I heard Hyat Sahib give orders to bring you before him, in order that he might satiate his revenge by your death! How happy am I in having an opportunity to rescue you! I will carry you back with me, therefore, to Bidanore, and place you in a state of security with my family."

'Such unprecedented generosity affected me sensibly. To run such a hazard as he must have incurred, merely from a principle of gratitude for services so remote in both time and person, was more than we could hope to find even among

Englishmen, who boast of their superior justice and generosity —but in a native of Hindostan, where the tide of human feeling runs rather low, was astonishing. As well as my limited knowledge of the language of the country enabled me, I endeavoured to make him a suitable acknowledgment: in such a case, dullness must have become eloquent; and I lamented that my deficiency in the language prevented my giving vent to the extreme fullness of my heart. He seemed, however, to be satisfied with my meaning; and I was just on the point of returning with him to Hydernagur, when we were suddenly startled by the jemadar's music, which was soon afterwards succeeded by the appearance of his guards advancing towards us at some distance. He seemed confounded and alarmed—lamented, in warm terms, his incapacity to serve me—and, pointing to a path which wound through a wood that lay on either side of the road, directed me to strike into it immediately, saying, that by following that route, I should certainly fall in with the British army. He then rode away, and I followed his advice, and proceeded for some time through the wood without interruption; for, though I did not implicitly believe the assertion that Hyat Sahib meant to have cut me off, I deemed it prudent to avail myself of the opportunity which offered to effect my escape, apprehending a worse fate than death, namely, being sent prisoner to Seringapatam.

'Finding myself fairly extricated, I began to examine my situation, and to reflect on the different conversations which had passed between Hyat Sahib and me, and on his conduct previous to my being put in irons. I recollected the information I had from time to time received, touching the jemadar's disposition, Hyder's death, Tippoo Sahib's character and avowed hatred of Hyat, and the nature of the inhabitants. I moreover took into consideration, that my strength was impaired, and my constitution undermined; and that my prospects in India, in point of fame or emolument, could only be promoted by some extraordinary exertion, or some hazardous enterprise. The result of the whole was a determination on my part to return back to the fort, and venture an attempt to

persuade the jemadar to offer proposals for an accommodation to general Mathews, and to make me the instrument of his negociation.

'In pursuance of this determination, I returned; and at about six o'clock in the evening re-entered the fort, and proceeded to the palace of the jemadar, where, desiring an audience, I was admitted. At the very first sight of him, I could perceive in his appearance all the mortification of falling power. He received me with a gloomy countenance, in which there was more of thoughtful sadness than of vindictive fury. After a minute's silence, however, he said to me, "Well, sir! you have heard, I suppose, that the English army are in possession of the ghauts, and doubtless know that the customs of this country authorise my proceeding against you with the utmost rigour." Here he paused for a few moments---then proceeded thus: "Nevertheless, in consideration of your family---in consideration of the regard I have for a long time conceived of you, from observing your conduct, and strict adherence to truth in answering all my questions, and still more on account of the sufferings which you have sustained with fortitude, I will allow you to escape: haste you, then, away---fly from this fort directly---begone!" Then waving his hand as a signal for me to depart, averted his face from me, and looked another way.'

Mr. Campbell seized this opportunity to operate upon the jemadar's fears, by painting, in strong colours, the danger of his situation with Tippoo, and contrasting it with the humanity, the fidelity, the bravery, and the generosity of the English. His reasoning produced the desired effect, and 'that very night,' says our author, 'he authorised me to go to the British general; and, though he would not commit himself by sending proposals in writing, he consented to receive them from the general, and promised to wait for my return till daylight the next morning---adding, that if I did not appear by that time, he would go off with his family and treasure to some other place, and set the town, powder-magazine, and storehouses, on fire, leaving a person of distinguished character to defend

the citadel or inner fort, which was strong, with a deep ditch, and mounted with many pieces of cannon, and send immediate intelligence to an army of 6,000 horse and 1,000 infantry, who were at that time on their road from Seringapatam, to hasten their progress, and make them advance with all possible rapidity; and he further observed, that as Tippoo himself would come to the immediate protection of his country, and, if once come while the English army remained in the open field, would give them cause to repent their temerity, there was no time to be lost.

'Accompanied by a person who had officiated as interpreter between the jemadar and me, and whose good offices and influence with Hyat, which was very great, I had been previously lucky enough to secure, I set off at 10 o'clock at night, on horseback, to the British army. My companion was in high spirits when we set out from the fort; but as we proceeded, he expressed great apprehension of being shot in approaching the camp, and earnestly entreated me to sleep at a choreltry, which lay in our way, till morning. His terror must have been great indeed, to induce him to make such a proposal, as he knew very well that we had pledged ourselves to be back before dawn next day. I rallied him upon his fears, and endeavoured to persuade him there was not the smallest danger, as I knew how to answer the outposts, when they should challenge us, in such a manner as to prevent their firing. As we advanced to the camp, however, his trepidation increased; and when we approached the sentries, I was obliged to drag him along by force. Then his fears had very nearly produced the danger he dreaded, (the almost inevitable effect of cowardice); for the sentry next to us, hearing the rustling noise, let off his piece, and was retreating when I had the good fortune to make him hear me. My companion, alarmed at the noise of the musket, fell down in a paroxysm of terror, from which it was some time before he was completely recovered. The sentry who had fired, coming up, conducted us to a place where other sentries were posted, one of whom accompanied us to a guard, from whence we were brought to the grand guard, and by them conducted to the general.

'I was no less pleased than surprised to find, that the commander of this gallant and successful little army was general Mathews—an old friend of my father's, and a person with whom I had served in the cavalry soon after I entered the service. When I arrived, he was fast asleep upon the bare ground in a choreltry. His dubash, whose name was Snake, recollected me immediately, and was almost as much frightened at my appearance at first, as my interpreter companion was at the shot of the sentry; for it was full five months since my hair and beard had been both shaved at the same time, during which period a comb had never touched my head: I had no hat—no stockings—was clad in a pair of very ragged breeches, a shirt which was so full of holes that it resembled rather a net than a web of cloth, and a waistcoat which had been made for a man twice my size—while my feet were defended from the stones only by a pair of Indian slippers. Snake, as soon as he was able to conquer his terror, and stop the loquacious effusions of astonishment, brought me to the general, whom I found fast asleep. We awoke him with great difficulty, and, on his discovering me, expressed great pleasure and surprise at so unexpected a meeting; for, though he had heard of my imprisonment at Bidanore, he did not expect to have had the pleasure of my company so soon.

'Having stated to the general the nature and object of my mission, and related to him what had happened in the fort, he instantly saw the great advantages that must accrue from such an arrangement—entered into a full but short discussion of the business—settled with me the plan to be pursued in case of Hyat Sahib's acceding to or dissenting from the terms he proposed to offer; and in less than an hour after my arrival, I was dispatched back to the fort in the general's palanquin, with a cowl from him, signifying that the jemadar Hyat Sahib's power and influence should not be lessened, if he should quietly surrender up the fort. Before my departure, the general expressed, in the warmest terms, his approbation of my conduct; and added, that considering the importance of the fort, the extensive influence of Hyat Sahib, and the advantages that might be derived from his experience and abilities, coupled

with the enfeebled state of his army, the benefits of such a negociation scarcely admitted of calculation.

'Notwithstanding the very flattering circumstances with which my present pursuit was attended, I could not help, as I returned to Hydernagur, finding some uneasy sensations, arising from the immediate nature of the business, and from my knowledge of the faithless disposition of Asiatics, and the little difficulty they find in violating any moral principle, if it happens to clash with their interest, or if a breach of it promises any advantage. I considered that it was by no means impossible, that some resolution adverse to my project might have been adopted in my absence, and that the jemadar's policy might lead him to make my destruction a sort of propitiation for his former offences, and to send me and the cowl together to Tippoo, to be sacrificed to his resentment. These thoughts, I own, made a very deep impression on my mind---but were again effaced by the reflection, that a laudable measure, once begun, ought to be persevered in, and that the accomplishing a plan of such importance and incalculable public utility, might operate still further by example, and produce consequences of which it was impossible at the present to form a conception. Those, and a variety of such suggestions, entirely overcame the scruples and fears of the danger; and I once more entered the fort of Hydernagur. At this time the British troops were, by detaching a part with colonel Macleod, to get round the fort, and attack it in rear, and, by death and sickness, reduced to less than 400 Europeans and 700 sepoys, without ordnance.

'When I delivered the cowl to the jemadar, he read it, and seemed pleased, but talked of four or five days to consider of an answer, and seemed to be wavering in his mind, and labouring under the alternate impulses of opposite motives and contradictory passions. I saw that it was a crisis of more importance than any other of my life---a crisis in which delay, irresolution, or yielding to the protractive expedients of Hyat, might be fatal. To prevent, therefore, the effects of either treachery or repentance, I took advantage of the general confusion and trepidation which prevailed in the fort---collected

the Arcot sepoys, who, to the number of 400, were prisoners at large—posted them at the gates, powder-magazines, and other critical situations; and, having taken these and other precautions, went out to the general, who, according to the plan concerted between us, had pushed on with the advanced guard; and, conducting him into the fort with hardly an attendant, brought him straight to the jemadar's presence while he yet remained in a state of indecision and terror. General Mathews, in his first interview with the jemadar, did every thing to re-assure him, and confirmed with the most solemn asseverations the terms of the cowl; in consequence of which, the latter acceded to the propositions contained in it, and the British colours for the first time waved upon the walls of the chief fort of the country of Bidanore.

'Having thus contributed to put this important garrison, with all its treasures, which certainly were immense, into the hands of the company, without the loss of a single man, or even the striking of a single blow, my exultation was inconceivable; and, much though I wanted money, I can with truth aver, that avarice had not even for an instant the least share in my sensations. It is true, the consciousness of my services assured me of a reward; but how that reward was to accrue to me, never once was the subject of my contemplation —much less did I think of availing myself of the instant occasion to obtain it. How far my delicacy on the occasion may be censured or approved, I cannot tell; but if I got nothing by it, I have at least the consolation to reflect that I escaped calumny, which was with a most unjustifiable and unsparing hand lavished on others. The general, it is true, promised that I should remain with him till he made some arrangements; and Hyat Sahib offered, on his part, to make me, through the general, a handsome present. The general, however, became dissatisfied with me; and I neither got Hyat Sahib's present, nor ever received even a rupee of the vast spoil found there.

'Here I think it a duty incumbent on me to say something of general Mathews, and, while I deplore the unfortunate

turn in his temper, which injured me, and tarnished in some measure his good qualities, to rescue him from the unmerited obloquy which the ignorant, the interested, and the envious, have thrown upon his fame. Light lie the ashes of the dead, and hallowed be the turf that pillows the head of the soldier—he was calumniated; and although he did not use me as I had reason to hope he would, I will, as far as I can, rescue his fame from gross misrepresentation.'

General Mathews, however, allowed his success to beget a spirit of presumption, which terminated in his capture, when Tippoo compelled him to take poison in prison! Previous to this the general broke his agreement with the jemadar, and ordered our author away, at an hour's notice, with dispatches to Madras and Bengal. But the mortification he felt at this ungenerous treatment, added to a change of diet, had an alarming effect on his constitution. He was seized with the most excruciating pains, his functions were lost in debility, and his head seemed deranged. Still he pushed forward on his journey with a strong resolution to fulfil his orders; but, at last, he became speechless and unable to stand. Having recovered a little he sailed from Anjengo to Tellicherry. Here he met with an *honest* attorney, who had the management of his affairs, but who, having received so many proofs of his death, was both surprised and pleased to see him. He presented Mr. Campbell with an exact account of his affairs down to that day. From this place Mr. Campbell proceeded over land to Madras, a distance of 800 miles. When at Tanjore he had an opportunity of being an eye-witness to that extraordinary and horrid ceremony, the burning of a Gentoo woman with the body of her husband, which we shall give as minuted down by him at the time it happened. He relates it as follows:

'This day, ..., I went to see a Gentoo woman resign herself to be burned along with the corpse of her deceased husband.

'The place fixed upon for this tragic scene, was a small islet on the bank of one of the branches of the river Cavery, about a mile to the northward of the fort of Tanjore.

'When I came to the spot, I found the victim, who appeared to be above 16, sitting on the ground, dressed in the Gentoo manner, with a white cloth wrapped round her, some white flowers like jessamines hanging round her neck, and some of them hanging from her hair. There were about 20 women sitting on their hams round her, holding a white handkerchief, extended horizontally over her head, to shade her from the sun, which was excessively hot, it being then about noon.

'At about 20 yards from where she was sitting, and facing her, there were several Bramins busy in constructing a pile with billets of firewood: the pile was about eight feet long, and four broad. They first began by driving some upright stakes into the ground, and then built up the middle to about the height of three feet and a half with billets of wood.

'The dead husband, who, from his appearance, seemed to be about 60 years of age, was lying close by, stretched out on a bier, made of bamboo canes. Four Bramins walked in procession three times round the dead body, first in a direction contrary to the sun, and afterwards other three times in a direction with the sun, all the while muttering incantations; and at each round or circuit they made, they untwisted, and immediately again twisted up the small long lock of hair which is left unshaven at the back of their heads.

'Some other Bramins were in the mean time employed in sprinkling water out of a green leaf, rolled up like a cup, upon a small heap of cakes of dry cow-dung, with which the pile was afterwards to be set on fire.

'An old Bramin sat at the north-east corner of the pile upon his hams, with a pair of spectacles on, reading, I suppose, the *shaster*, or their scriptures, from a book composed of cajan leaves.

'Having been present now nearly an hour, I inquired when they meant to set the pile on fire: they answered, in about two hours. As this spectacle was most melancholy, and naturally struck me with horror, and as I had only gone there to assure myself of the *truth of such sacrifices being made*, I went away towards the fort. After I was gone about

500 yards, they sent some one to tell me they would burn immediately; on which I returned, and found the woman had been moved from where she was sitting to the river, where the Bramins were bathing her. On taking her out of the water, they put some money in her hand, which she dipped in the river, and divided among the Bramins: she had then a yellow cloth rolled partially round her. They put some red colour, about the size of a sixpence, on the centre of her forehead, and rubbed something that appeared to me to be clay. She was then led to the pile, round which she walked three times as the sun goes: she then mounted it at the north-east corner, without any assistance; and sat herself down on the right side of her husband, who had been previously laid upon the pile. She then unscrewed the pins which fastened the jewels or silver rings on her arms: after she had taken them off, she shut them, and screwed in the pins again, and gave one to each of two women who were standing: she unscrewed her ear-rings, and other toys, with great composure, and divided them among the women who were with her. There seemed to be some little squabble about the distribution of her jewels, which she settled with great precision; and then, falling gently backwards, pulled a fold of the yellow cloth over her face, turned her breast towards her husband's side, and laid her right arm over her breast; and in this posture she remained without moving.

'Just before she lay down, the Bramins put some rice in her lap, and also some into the mouth and on the long gray beard of her husband: they then sprinkled some water on the head, breast, and feet of both, and tied them gently together round the middle with a slender bit of rope: they then raised, as it were, a little wall of wood lengthways on two sides of the pile, so as to raise it above the level of the bodies; and then put cross pieces, so as to prevent the billets of wood from pressing on them: they then poured on the pile, above where the woman lay, a potful of something that appeared to me to be oil; after this they heaped more wood, to the height of about four feet above where the bodies were built in; so that all I now saw was a stack of firewood.

'One of the Bramins, I observed, stood at the end of the pile next the woman's head----was calling to her through the interstices of the wood, and laughed several times during the conversation. Lastly they overspread the pile with wet straw, and tied it on with ropes.

'A Bramin then took a handful of straw, which he set on fire at the little heap of burning cakes of cow-dung; and, standing to windward of the pile, he let the wind drive the flame from the straw till it catched the pile. Fortunately, at this instant, the wind rose much higher than it had been any part of the day; and in an instant the flames pervaded the whole pile, and it burnt with great fury. I listened a few seconds, but could not distinguish any shrieks, which might perhaps be owing to my being then to windward. In a very few minutes, the pile became a heap of ashes.

'During the whole time of this process, which lasted from first to last above two hours before we lost sight of the woman by her being built up in the middle of the pile, I kept my eyes almost constantly upon her; and I declare to God that I could not perceive, either in her countenance or limbs, the least trace of either horror, fear, or even hesitation: her countenance was perfectly composed and placid; and she was not, I am positive, either intoxicated or stupified. From several circumstances, I thought the Bramins exulted in this hellish sacrifice, and did not seem at all displeased that Europeans should be witnesses of it.'

At Negapatnam our traveller was obliged to embark for Madras, the communication by land being interrupted by the enemy's troops. It might be supposed that adventure was at an end, but it fell out otherwise; for, as he approached Madras, he was taken by a French frigate! This appeared to be the greatest misfortune he had yet met with: for, as the chief officers in India had differed on an exchange of prisoners, the French had just delivered 300 up to Tippoo, and their fate was such as would harrow up the soul to relate. Campbell knew his fate could the tyrant only get him within his power. Fortune, however, again was favourable, and snatched him from the jaws of destruction. 'Having struck our colours,'

says he, 'to the French frigate, the captain ordered us to follow her, and steered to the northward. We obeyed him for some time: at length night fell; and, a fresh and favourable breeze fortunately aiding the attempt, we put about, ran for Madras, and luckily dropt anchor safe in the roads. In the escapes I had hitherto had, there was always some disagreeable circumstance to alloy the pleasure arising from them—In this instance, my joy was pure and unqualified; and I looked forward with a reasonable hope that the worst was all over.'

From Madras he sailed immediately to Calcutta, where he entered into a negociation with Mr. Hastings, on behalf of Hyat Sahib. Considering himself in a degree pledged to obtain him satisfaction for the surrender of Bidanore, he determined to proceed to Bombay. But the chagrin he felt at his disappointments threw him into a fit of sickness, which confined him to his bed for six weeks. After staying some time at Bombay, he visited Surat, and thus travelled more than 3,000 miles in India, besides his sea voyages. Feeling a curiosity to see China, he sailed to Canton. At this place he embarked on board the Ponsborne East-Indiaman, and, after a tolerable voyage of five months and two days, got on board a fishing-boat off Falmouth, and was put on shore there, having been exactly four years and five days from England.

TRAVELS

IN

GREECE AND TURKEY,

BY

C. S. SONNINI.

THIS valuable work was published in England in 1801.

The author is a learned Frenchman, who spent two years in Greece, and whose warm and brilliant imagination, and variety of description, and indignation against tyranny, have combined to render him a favourite with the public.

He first visited Cyprus, which we noticed in the preceding journey, and then Egypt. From Alexandria he sailed for the island of Candia, 'but the westerly wind,' says he, 'drove us out of our course, although it was not yet very violent, nor the sea very high. Our little vessel which sailed rather ill, did not work much better; and from my conversations with the captain, I had no reason to conceive a high idea of his skill in navigation. He related to me, for instance, as a very simple event, that the preceding year he had lost, on the coast of Sicily, the vessel, which he then commanded, because, having made a mistake in his reckoning, he thought himself far from the land, at the very moment when she was cast away on it. But his features changed, his voice faultered, and big tears, long-restrained, fell from his eyes, and trickled

down the wrinkles with which age had furrowed his face, when he spoke to me of another accident, in the recollection of which he was wholly absorbed. A few years ago his only son, who sailed with him in these same seas of the Levant, had, in a heavy gale, been crushed to death under his eyes, between the vessel and the boat. He was inconsolable at this loss, and his head was really affected by it.

'We remarked, and this observation is well known to navigators who frequent those seas, that, along the coast of Caramania, the currents set to the south-west; their impulse was favourable to us, and diminished the action of the westerly wind, which did not quit us during the day. However, it had lost much of its strength: the sea had fallen, and the different aspects of the land, which our continual change of situation rendered very diversified, made our voyage an agreeable excursion. Towards the sea, we also had objects which interrupted its tiresome sameness: some vessels were sailing near ours, and in the midst of them rose, like a floating mountain, a caravel belonging to the grand signior: thus are called the ships of war of the Turkish navy; their elevation above the water is excessive: their stern is, besides, of a disproportionate height. This structure, which gives great hold to the wind even on the hull of the vessel, occasions her to be difficult to manage, and exposes her to make considerable lee-way, as well as to all the violence of a heavy sea: in an action, the enemy's shot find a greater surface to strike; the vessel is a heavy sailer, and not sure in stays; added to this, the rigging is incomplete and confounded; the artillery, entirely of brass, is composed of pieces of different calibres, which makes it tedious and difficult to serve them, and the gun-decks, being always lumbered, likewise clog a service, which the difference of the weight of metal necessarily renders confused. From such great defects in the construction and rigging of the Turkish men of war, and even the nature of the wood with which they are built, it is easy to remark the infancy or rather the barbarism of navigation.

'And the men who conduct these shapeless masses, are also the most ignorant in the world. There are few among

them who are familiarly acquainted with the use of the compass, who know how to find and mark their route on a chart, who are capable of observing the altitude of the sun above the horizon, when it passes the meridian, in order to ascertain the latitude; nor is there one who has any idea of geography. It may be remembered that, in the course of the last war between the Russians and the Turks, it was impossible to persuade the latter that the Russian fleets could reach Constantinople by another route than by the Black sea. In vain was pointed out to them on the chart the route which brought ships from the Baltic into the Archipelago; the divan, in which sat the high admiral himself, persisted in considering the thing as impracticable; and it was not till the enemy's fleet arrived in the seas of Turkey, that the possibility of this voyage began to obtain credit.

'Towards the evening, a multitude of fishes of the small species of tunny appeared all at once near the ship; they divided with extreme rapidity the surface of the waves, which they caused to bubble, and they darted sometimes out of the water by quick and tumultuous heaps; these sudden passages of fish, swimming in close columns, are, in the eyes of navigators, a certain presage of bad weather. In fact, the sky was charged with vapours, and the horizon began to be covered with clouds, which, to the north-west, were intersected by some vivid and repeated flashes of lightning. The captain, faint and trembling, told me that it was uncommon to sail in these seas, without encountering some violent storm; he added that, the year before, he had been caught in a gale of wind, which had put him in the greatest danger. In consequence, he ordered several sails to be taken in, although the weather was yet very fine, and employed some precautions which were not attended with great success.

'After having exhorted my timid skipper to courage and vigilance, I went to bed and fell into a sound sleep. At two o'clock in the morning, I was awakened by a great noise, and by cries of "The axes, the axes! Cut! cut away!" I sprang on deck, and I saw that, notwithstanding his alarms and precautions, the captain had not the less suffered himself

to be surprised by a very heavy squall, which, bursting all at once on the vessel, still pressed with more sail than she could carry, had overpowered her to such a degree that she was almost half under water, and on the point of being entirely buried in the waves. We contrived to right her, by cutting some of the running rigging and splitting a sail; a few moments more, and we should have been swallowed up. I complimented the captain on his skill, and returned to my bed, fully promising myself not to make a long voyage, under the guidance of such seamen.'

At last, M. Sonnini cast anchor in the harbour of *Rhodes*. 'This island,' he observes, 'is much longer than it is broad; its great strength, in a direction from north to south, is about 12 leagues; it is but six in breadth, and its circuit is commonly estimated at 44 leagues. Its form is nearly triangular, whence it obtained the name of *Trinacria*, which it bore in former times, with a great many others.

'The city which bears the same name of Rhodes, and which is the capital of the island as well as the chief seat of its government, is situated to the north-east. It is fortified, and its ramparts partake of the state of neglect and decay of every thing that is in the hands of the Turks. But proud recollections are attached to them, and will preserve them eternally in the memory of mankind; they will, to the latest posterity, be a testimony of what valour can achieve against the most formidable forces, valour which duty and a sense of honour alone inspired, and which was neither sullied by the ambition of conquests, nor the allurement of the spoils of the vanquished. It was on this theatre of glory that Villiers de l'Ile Adam, loaded with years and with the palms of heroism, and who, to be one of the most renowned generals in the world, wanted no more than the command of a large army, inspiriting a handful of combatants already multiplied by their own courage, long checked the attacks and efforts of the victorious arms of the proud Soliman. History has transmitted to us the unheard-of prodigies which rendered illustrious the defence of Rhodes. Soliman's triumph, which cost him 100,000 of his best troops, was at least not profaned

by acts of atrociousness and barbarity; and he gave not the example of the abominable cruelty, which, in contempt of solemn conventions, the lieutenant of one of his successors, a warrior who knew only how to be ferocious, exercised, at the capture of Famagusta, towards its valiant defender. The Ottoman prince was acquainted with all the value of courage; he understood how to appreciate it, and pay it homage even in his enemies: he loaded the grand master Villiers de l'Ile Adam with attention and deference, and endeavoured to make him forget the blow which the fate of arms had just given him.

'In several places of the city of Rhodes are still to be seen marks of the ancient possession of the order of St. John of Jerusalem; a long street there preserves the name of *Rue des Chevaliers;* it is perfectly straight, and formed of old houses, on which remain the armorial bearings of the members of that order. Some of these buildings still exhibit the arms of the pope; and it is rather astonishing that the Turks, consummate masters in the infernal art of destruction, have respected these emblems of the sovereignty of the catholic pontiff whom they hold in abhorrence, because they consider him as the natural and irreconcileable enemy of their religion. However, we cease to be surprised at this sort of inconsistency of the actions of the Mussulmans, when we have seen them, in our days, fly to arms, and take a very active part in a war, one of the motives of which is the re-establishment of the court of Rome and of the order of Malta.

'In the harbour of Rhodes, I learnt how sailors contrive to get rid of rats that are troublesome, and to make them pass to their neighbours. Our vessel was full of these gnawing animals; they there occasioned considerable havock, and devoured or spoilt the provisions. A Greek bark, loaded with apples, came and cast anchor near us. Our sailors, without making the smallest noise, ran out to her, during the night, a hawser or cablet, and then drew it tight, so that it might serve as a bridge to the rats: the latter, attracted by the smell of the apples, of which they are very fond, passed, without the exception of a single one, into the bark, and there gave the Greeks reason to curse their neighbour.

'Who has not heard of the famous colossus, one of the seven wonders of the world, which, being placed, it is said, at the entrance of the harbour of Rhodes, was tall enough for ships to pass between its legs? According to Pliny, this was a monument which commanded admiration. It was the production of an artist, born at Lindus, one of the towns of the island of Rhodes, and a pupil of Lysippus, a statuary of great celebrity. Other historians affirm that he only began it, and that, having killed himself, another sculptor of the same country completed the work. Be this as it may, twelve years were consumed in erecting this colossus. Its height was seventy cubits, which is about one hundred and five of our feet; some authors have carried it to eighty cubits, or one hundred and twenty feet, and even to one hundred and fifty feet. At the expiration of fifty-six years, it was thrown down by an earthquake; and prostrate as it lay, it still appeared a prodigy. Few men could clasp the thumb of this gigantic statue; each of its fingers was larger than most statues; its different parts, when broken, shewed in their inside vast cavities, some of which were filled with stones of an immense size, intended to add to its weight, and give it greater stability.

'No one thought of raising again so heavy a mass; it remained extended on the ground near nine hundred years, and it was not till the year 672 that it was carried off, after having been taken to pieces. Almost all authors agree that it required nine hundred camels to remove its remains; and the load of each camel being estimated at eight hundred pounds, it results that the weight of the colossus was near seven hundred and twenty thousand of our pounds. All the bronze of which it was formed was shipped and carried away by the Arabs, when they made themselves masters of the city.

'However, the common opinion which represents the colossus of Rhodes at the entrance of the harbour, and ships passing in full sail between its extended legs, is erroneous, as several of the learned, and M. de Caylus in particular, have very clearly proved: they, with much greater probability, place this monument of the power of the Rhodians at some distance from the sea.

'With the exception of the city of Rhodes itself, which is almost entirely inhabited by Turks, who would render it an abode insupportable to any other but themselves, the population of the island is composed of Greeks, descendants of those famous Rhodians, whose valour, ardent love of liberty, taste for the sciences and fine arts, skill in navigation, and activity in commerce, have been celebrated in the annals of antiquity. The long tyranny under which they have been enslaved, has checked the transports of generous souls, and extinguished the torch of genius, and the fiery ardour of glory and riches: the Greeks of Rhodes have preserved, as it were, no more than the shadow of the great energy of their ancestors, a few traces of which are scarcely to be found in their fondness for navigation and traffic, which most of them still follow with some success. They are still, like their forefathers, bold and skilful navigators, able ship-builders, industrious traders; and if the beautiful countries of Asiatic Greece were destined to change their masters, it would be at Rhodes, more than in any other quarter, that we should meet with the powerful succours of courage, of the spirit of liberty, and of intelligence.'

M. Sonnini next paid a hasty visit to Stancho, the ancient Cos, the birth-place of Hippocrates and Apelles, while the plague was in the island. The roadstead of Stancho was, a few years ago, the theatre of a most extraordinary scene, which is thus related by our author.

'A Turkish squadron, commanded by the high admiral, or captain pacha, anchored at Stancho, in the festivals of the *Biram*, which terminate the fast of the *Ramadan*. The celebration of these religious and solemn festivals had attracted to the town the greater part of the officers and crews of the squadron, and even the captain pacha himself. Twenty or twenty-five Europeans, taken in privateers belonging to Malta, and reduced to slavery, served on board of the flag-ship. Captain G***, one of the most intrepid commanders of these privateers, who had fought the Mussulmans under the flag of the order of Malta, was one of the slaves. Overwhelmed by numbers and by wounds, he had yielded, and had been thrown into irons; the opportunity appeared favourable to him for

releasing himself from them: he hastened to communicate his plan and his boldness to his companions of misfortune, among whom were some Maltese, Corsicans, and Italians, and to inflame them by the hope of liberty and of a rich booty. Their resolution was soon taken; they fell on the first Turks that presented themselves; they disarmed them, and threw them all, one after the other, into the hold, the hatchways of which they secured. To cut the cables, hoist the sails, and get under way, was the business of the same moment. The other ships having no orders, and perceiving no signal, quietly beheld the departure of the flag-ship, which they might suppose bound on some temporary expedition; and it was not till the captain pacha, apprized too late, in the midst of the exercise of his piety, and himself contemplating from the shore his own ship sailing away with a leading wind, that the squadron got under way; but the pursuit was useless. The ship, conducted by skilful seamen, escaped from them, and a few days after, arrived off Malta.

'Every one there was very much surprised to see in the offing a large ship of war of Turkish construction, steering towards the entrance of the harbour. The galleys, the ancient monuments of the exploits and valour of the knights of Malta, were sent to reconnoitre; the artillery was prepared; no precaution of defence was neglected: dispositions were made for repelling the attempts of the enemy; but enthusiasm succeeded these warlike preparatives, when it was known that the ship whose approach had occasioned alarm, was brought in by countrymen and friends, whom there was little expectation of seeing again, and that they had made themselves masters of riches which were still less to be expected.

'In fact, the value of this important prize was immense. A ship of the first rate, with her rigging, furniture, stores, provisions, ammunition, and her brass artillery, the money and jewels of the principal officers of the Ottoman navy, part of the sums which the squadron had previously levied on the annual tribute of the islands of the Archipelago, formed a very rich booty, to which it was necessary to add the price that the order of Malta paid for every Mahometan prisoner,

who, from retaliation, were all thrown into irons. The heroes who had seized on all these treasures, had no inconsiderable number of Turks on board; and it had entered into their speculations, not to kill any of them, if possible, in order to increase the share which they promised themselves from the prize.

'But policy deranged the great projects of fortune, and frustrated hopes which sound morality disapproves, but which custom and the sort of justice resulting from it, authorize. The court of Constantinople could not endure such a humiliation: it addressed that of Versailles, and claimed its interference. The latter required from the grand master that the ship should be restored; and officers belonging to the navy of France were ordered to take charge of her at Malta, and carry her to Constantinople, where this act of condescension, on the part of the French government, made a very favourable impression. This was not the case of Malta; there the knights beheld with concern the departure of considerable riches, the property of which appeared incontestably acquired, and the reward of the bravery of their intrepid cruisers. By way of indemnification, the captors were allowed a sum which they considered as moderate, in comparison to the money that the sale of the prize would have procured them, and it is added, that they waited a long time before it was paid.'

At Amorgos, another island in the Grecian Archipelago, our author remarks, that 'the inhabitants, who were formerly friends to the sciences and fine arts, at this day are devoted to ignorance, and to superstition, its faithful companion. In the country which gave birth to Simonides, he of the Greek poets who possessed, in the highest degree, the art of moving the passions, and of causing the sweet tears of sensibility to flow, are now to be found no others than *papas* and *caloyers*, without genius, as well as without knowledge, and credulous ministers of an absurd credulity. They shew, in a small chapel, a vase, which they affirm to be a certain oracle, and which the ignorant consult, in order to know what will be the issue of a voyage, or an enterprise. The vase full of water is a sign of success; if it be almost empty, it announces ill for-

tune; and fables and impostures of this sort have, among the modern Greeks, replaced the ingenious and allegorical fictions of their ancestors.

'High mountains, naked and steep rocks, occupy some points of the island. In other parts, plains and vallies are the domain of a brilliant fertility. The abundance of its wines, oil, corn, and fruits, was renowned; it still subsists, although less rich, because, far from being seconded, it has to surmount the obstacles and difficulties of a bad administration. A few districts are still well cultivated, and yield rich harvests; olive-trees there furnish a tolerable large quantity of oil, in proportion to the extent of the territory; figs are there good and very common, and the wine is still of a very good quality. That species of large grape with oval seeds, and a succulent and perfumed pulp, which the present Greeks call *ox-eye*, and we *raisin d'Alexandrie*, there becomes of a considerable size, and very delicious.

'Among the allurements of Amorgos, we must place in the first rank the mildness and affability of its inhabitants, and the beauty of the women, who, by their charms, remind us that we are in countries, where, from time immemorial, the most amiable sex were in possession of forms the most noble and most elegant, of the bloom of brilliant colour, of an outline the most graceful, of minute attractions the most fascinating. But these handsome women clothe themselves with strange dresses, to which European eyes are not easily reconciled: and they must needs be truly beautiful to appear so under such a garb. The women of Amorgos pass a shawl, or large yellow handkerchief, made of fine wool, over their forehead and the lower part of their face, twist it round their head in the form of a turban, tie it behind, and suffer a long end of it to hang down their back.

'Among the people of the East, fashions are not, as in our western countries, ephemeral fancies, bantlings of instability and capricious luxury; they are customs lasting and ancient, whose origin is lost in the obscurity of ages, and which will still have a long continuance. If, as cannot be doubted, the usages of nations are an image of their character, we shall conceive a

high opinion of the constancy of the women of Amorgos, and of all those of the other parts of Greece, who, like them, attached to ancient habits, and strangers to the versatility of fancies, have preserved their dress, however whimsical, however inconvenient even it may appear, when one is not accustomed to see or wear it. In fact it is among these women, so favoured by nature, but at the same time so indifferent as to procuring themselves garments more suitable to their shape, and better calculated for the more advantageous display of their charms, that it is common to meet with the valuable union of beauty, glowing affection, and constancy.'

Our author next visited Nanfio, so famed for partridges, and then the fertile isle of Nio, the place where Homer died. 'I happened to be there on the day when the Greeks celebrate, in the spring, the festival of St. Gregory, a festival that they consecrate, in a manner, to cock-roaches, disgusting and troublesome insects, which are very common in these countries during the summer. The day before, every family ought to have laid in their stock of water and herbs; were any to be brought in on that day, it would be imagined that the house would be filled with cock-roaches. This precaution is, nevertheless, insufficient for conjuring away those insects: every head of a family must procure two or three of them, which he shuts up in a hollow reed, and throws them into the sea, at the same time uttering a thousand curses. Although long experience has demonstrated the inefficacy of this ceremony and of these imprecations, there is not a single Greek of Nio and of several other islands of the Archipelago, who annually, on such a day, does not observe them scrupulously, though not a year passes without their houses being infested with cock-roaches in the summer: so blind is superstition when time and ignorance have allowed it to take deep root!

'The dress of the women of Nio is much the same as that of the women of most of the islands of the Archipelago. Their features are entirely exposed to view, their forehead is uncovered, and the shawl, with which their head is enveloped, exhibits a sort of crescent of beautiful black hair, glossy as jet, and soft as silk.

'I shall remark, on this occasion, that the size, and consequently the coarseness of the hair, appears to depend on the severity of the climate. Negroes have wool, and I have never seen any where hair so fine as on the head of the greater part of the women of the East.

'We might make an exception against the garments of the women of Nio, and of the other islands where they are accustomed to wear any of the same description, for not reaching sufficiently low, and being repugnant to decency. Their petticoat, in fact, comes only to the knees; but in this defect of length, which, added to the forms of the other parts of the dress, has something whimsical and grotesque, there is nothing immodest. If, in our country, the idea of impropriety and effrontery accompanies a woman whose legs are not covered, at least in a great measure, by long garments, it is that the legs, although dressed, are, with our women, immediately connected with parts which are not, and which decency strictly conceals from view. But what it reproves among us, cannot alarm in the East. There, all the women are completely clothed; they all wear drawers, which permit them not to embarrass their legs by long petticoats.

'The Turkish women, and the female Greeks of the large towns, make use of long and ample drawers, which come down to their heels; they even wear them double: the under pair is of linen or cotton, and that which appears is of linen or silk. The drawers of the women of the Archipelago are plain, short, and most commonly made of cotton. Like those of the Turkish women, and rich female inhabitants of the cities and towns, they are in like manner confined, above the hips, by a girdle of knit silk or cotton, passed through a noose, and fastened in front by a long running knot: they are also very ample; but they do not reach beyond the knee, under which they are confined with strings that are covered by the stockings. The women are in the habit of tying these strings so tight, at the top of the calf of the leg, that their impression becomes sufficiently deep and broad to admit the finger. This custom of clothing themselves more completely has, methinks, great advantages for the health of the women: adopted by ours,

it would save them from a crowd of disorders, which may very probably have no other cause than their having neglected it, and by this, decency would, doubtless, be no loser.

'Subterraneous commotions, convulsions, and other phenomena, terrified the men of these countries, at different times, and produced on the land changes more or less considerable, till the year 1743, when another island suddenly appeared above the surface of the waters. In order to distinguish it from the former, which is the larger, the Greeks have named it *Micri Kammeni*, or the *Little Burnt Island.*

'Lastly, at the beginning of the century which has just elapsed, a new islet appeared between the Great and the little Kammeni, about a league from Santorin. It was on the 23d of May, 1707, at break of day, that were perceived the commencements of this other production of the same month, there had been felt at Santorin, two slight subterraneous fires which burn in these parts. On the 18th of the same month there had been felt at Santorin, two slight shocks of an earthquake. No great attention was paid to them at the time; but, in the sequel, there was reason to suppose that, at that moment, the new islet was beginning to detach itself from the bottom of the sea, and to rise towards its surface. Be this as it may, some Greeks belonging to Santorin having, very early in the morning, seen the first points of the growing island, imagined that these might be the remains of some shipwreck, which the sea had brought during the night. In hopes of being the first to avail themselves of them, they hastened to reach them; but, no sooner had they discovered that, in lieu of pieces of a floating wreck, these were black and calcined rocks, than they returned, quite frightened, publishing every where what they had just seen.

'The fright was general in the whole island of Santorin; it was well known there that these sudden appearances of new lands had always been attended by great disasters. Nevertheless, two or three days having passed without any thing fatal happening, some of the inhabitants of Santorin came to a resolution of making observations on the very spot. Having landed, curiosity induced them to proceed from rock to rock;

they found every where a sort of white stone which might be cut like bread, and which so well imitated it in figure, colour, and consistency, that, with the exception of the taste, it might have been taken for real wheaten bread. What pleased them and astonished them more, was a quantity of fresh oysters adhering to the rocks, a circumstance very uncommon at Santorin. While these Greeks were amusing themselves with eating the oysters, they all at once felt the rocks move, and the ground tremble under their feet: terror soon made them abandon their repast, in order to jump into their boat, and row away as hard as they could pull. This shock was a motion of the island, which was increasing, and which at that moment, visibly rose, having, in a very few days, gained near twenty feet in height, and twice as much in breadth.

'This island daily became higher and broader, and in a short time, a most brilliant and beautiful eruption took place, the subterraneous thunders going off in long rockets, sparkling with a million of lights. The thunders were so loud, that two persons could not hear each other speak. This was followed by violent earthquakes.'

'Symptoms so frightful,' says our author, 'convulsions so violent, which nothing can resist, and which mock the power and the precautions of mankind, were, doubtless, sufficient to strike the superstitions and weak imagination of the Greeks. The new island is in their eyes the work of hell; demons have there established their abode; they there set up a dreadful uproar; and, impelled by a diabolical malignity, they make a pastime of letting go the cables of vessels which mariners have the temerity to make fast to it. The Greek bishop of Santorin goes thither sometimes, to display the power of exorcism; and though the noise does not discontinue, and vessels and boats are as frequently set adrift, the prelate enjoys the satisfaction of seeing his credulous flock thoroughly convinced of the efficacy of his pious ceremonies.

'But this uproar which holy water cannot appease, is owing to the very nature of the new island. It is sometimes the hollow and deep roaring of the volcano, and almost always the shock of the waves against the partitions of cavities entirely

formed of calcined and sonorous rocks. The piercing cry of mews, gulls, and other birds which there take refuge, on the approach of any new object, are blended with sounds loud and mournful, because they issue from deep caverns; and this discordance of grave and sharp tones forms, indeed, an uproar worthy of hell itself, which, nevertheless, has no more to do with it than with the cables of the vessels, that lose their hold from a cause equally simple and equally natural. In fact, the prominent points, which present greater facility for making fast to them the moorings, belong to rocks burnt of no great consistency, which the motion of the vessel causes to break easily, as soon as she is agitated by the wind or waves.

'The new island is about a league in circumference. All round, but very close to it, the depth of water is from thirty to thirty-five fathoms: farther off, no bottom is to be found. From the rocks of the island is frequently detached a quantity of fragments of pumice-stone, which, floating on the surface of the sea, are driven on the coasts of the islands of the Archipelago, where I have seen several of them cast on shore, being swept away by the winds. The quantity of these light productions of volcanoes, thrown up by the new island, was so considerable during the beginning of its astonishing appearance, that the sea of the Archipelago was covered with them, and several harbours were choaked up to such a degree, that no vessel, however small, could get out, unless a passage were cleared for her by means of poles.

"Pyrgos, San Nicolo, and Scaro, are the only three places of any consequence in the isle of Santorin: there are some villages in the interior, and the whole population, assembled, may form a mass of eight or ten thousand inhabitants, industrious and active; but, like their bishops, frequently divided by religious opinions, and exasperated against each other, some being catholics, and others declared heretics; all very credulous, very headstrong in matters of theology, and endeavouring continually to extend their creed and their domination, at the expence of their adversaries.

'The inhabitants of Santorin share, with those of a great number of other islands, the advantage of having no Turks

among them. Their coasts affording no harbours and places for anchoring, they are not frequented by ships of war belonging to the Ottoman navy, and scarcely ever by corsairs. In paying the tribute which is exacted from them, they are less tormented than many other islanders, and they can give themselves up, with greater safety and tranquillity, to the labours of culture and the concerns of their traffic.'

M. Sonnini next sailed to Candia. 'Thrice' he exclaims 'have I visited the island of Candia; thrice have I landed on the shores of that famous country, which, under the name of Crete, was rendered illustrious by the institutions of Minos, the hundred cities which it contained, and the courage of its inhabitants; which, in times less remote, became the magnificent domain of the republic of Venice, and the theatre of the signal valour of its armies; and which at length shares the common lot of misfortune attached to every country subject to the monstrous domination of the Ottomans.

'The island of Candia is the largest in the Mediterranean, of which its position seems to insure it the empire and the commerce. It is, in fact, at no great distance from Africa, Asia, and Europe: some of its harbours are equally good and spacious; it would be an easy matter to prepare there expeditions for the three quarters of the globe. Its inhabitants are numerous and active; the very diversified productions of its territory possess the qualities calculated to bring them into request: the nature of its soil, the mildness of its climate, promise comfort and agreeableness; and this country might be again, as in very ancient times, the *Island of the blessed*, if the laws of Minos, which Homer considered as eminating from Jupiter himself, could once more govern a people, whose ancient greatness has been effaced under the impression of a disgraceful servitude.

'Like the greater part of the islands of the Archipelago, this is much longer than broad; it is reckoned to be two hundred leagues in circumference.

'The town of Canea has nothing remarkable. The form of its buildings is the same as in all the East; that is, that in lieu of roofs, inclined and forming a ridge, they have a flat

covering without tiles or slates, and int he form of a terrace. The greater part have only one story: the streets are laid out by the line; some tolerably wide, and fountains with an abundant stream in the public squares.

'To protect me from all insult, there had been appointed to attend me, when I went out of the town, a janizary, who was, perhaps, the handsomest, the most robust, and the most muscular man that I ever beheld in my life. He might also be reckoned one of the most mischievous. He was the terror of the country-places. Constantly armed from top to toe, on every occasion he made use of his weapons; threats were incessantly in his mouth; and his stern countenance, his large sparkling eyes, his bursts of passion, his stature, and his strength, caused their effects to be dreaded. He treated the Greeks as a servile herd; blows with his stick, or his sabre, were dealt out to them, and even pistols discharged at them, on the smallest resistance. This Turk, who belonged to Candia, had been presented to me as a bold and enterprising man, and those who gave him that character were not mistaken: they would have been equally justified in describing him as a dangerous and ungovernable robber. But this fellow, furious towards others, was always very mild with me: he was capable of feeling, that, being in my pay, he was bound to obey me; and never did he fail to do so, at least in every thing in which I was personally concerned. However, this sort of command which I had over him, did not extend so far as to prevent him from using ill the Greeks who happened to be too slow in executing his orders, in the villages where we stopped, nor from making me alight at all the convents which lay near our route, however close they were to each other. He there ordered a collation; caused himself to be served with the best wines, with which he got drunk in spite of Mahomet; spread confusion and terror through the whole monastery; and he did not quit it till he had gorged himself with meat and drink, in the hope of soon meeting with another halting-place, in order that he might there renew the same orgies and the same uproar. I carefully concealed myself from him, when I offered to the monks a just indemnification: they

did not accept it themselves but with trembling; and they would have been undone, had it been perceived by my impetuous companion. These poor friars pitied me very sincerely for being, as it were, in his hands; and they were at a loss to conceive how I did not also become the victim of his passionate and violent disposition.

'Convents are very numerous in Greece; they are sanctuaries consecrated to ignorance, superstition, and most frequently to sloth. To the monks is given the name of *caloyers*; from *kalos*, good, and from *geros*, old man, good old man. We are very far, however, from seeing among them none but old men, or even men of a certain age. It is not uncommon to meet with young boys, of from ten to twelve years old, clothed in the habit, which consists of a plain, long, black gown, confined by a girdle. The variety of the regulations, the medley of the dresses, which strike the traveller, in the different classes of friars spread over the surface of the countries submitted to the Latin church, are not to be remarked among the Greeks; there exists but one order, that of St. Basil; and the monks, subjected to the same rule, also wear the same dress.

'These friars are very dirty, and, we may add, very ugly, from the habit which they contract of neglecting their exterior, and of neither taking care of their beard nor their hair. Nor are they more to be admired as to interior qualities. Hypocrisy, haughty, and gross ignorance, meanness, and treachery, form their character; uninformed as they are, they wish to be reckoned, in the eyes of the people, to possess great knowledge, and to enjoy a reputation for sanctity, which may procure them respect and attention.

'When we are to speak of the harbours which are in the hands of the Turks, we are forced to repeat incessantly, and to describe, for each of them, the same negligence, the same barbarous apathy, which coolly suffer to fall into decay those great basins which nature and art had formed, in order to promote commerce and public prosperity. At Canea no precaution, no police, no mean of repair and preservation is there employed; the process of cleansing a port, by means of lighters, is unknown; ships throw overboard, with impunity,

every thing that embarrasses them, and not unfrequently a part of their ballast. The bottom rises, and is covered by foreign bodies, dangerous for the cables; the basin is choked up; it can scarcely admit vessels of two hundred tons burden; the arsenal, and the fine docks for ship-building, which the Venetians had constructed there, are falling into ruins, and are no longer in a condition to be made use of.'

'From La Culate,' says Sonnini, 'to Canea, the landing place, the distance is reckoned a league: the plain which leads thither is fertile and agreeable, and the traveller feels a pleasure in crossing fields adorned with the riches of culture, or enamelled with flowers which grow there spontaneously. But, on approaching the town, a disgusting spectacle suddenly changes the pleasurable sensations which had been produced by these smiling pictures. The soul is harrowed up, the senses are painfully affected, at the sight of the huts which line the road. These are the asylums of persons of both sexes, eaten up by that horrible and contagious disease of the skin which still exercises its ravages in some parts of the East, and which the crusades had introduced into Europe, where we have succeeded in getting rid of it.

'The leprosy still infects one of the finest countries of the East. This disorder was anciently known to the Greeks, who called it *lepra*, and the Jews were very subject to its ravages. It still acts with some degree of virulence on the inhabitants of the island of Candia: the Turks and Greeks are alike afflicted by it, and it attacks the rich as well as the poor. I make this remark, because Savary has affirmed that persons in affluence were not subject to the leprosy. He, doubtless, did not recollect that, when we were together at Canea, the son of an opulent aga, still young, and a very handsome man, was a victim to this loathsome disorder.

'Lepers are obliged to quit the town, and dwell in a hut, where they are prohibited from all communication with healthful persons. They there live on the produce of a small garden adjoining to their cottage, on poultry which they rear, and on the alms of passengers. No sooner do they perceive any one, than they advance in order to implore pity; and their approach

causes the most violent disgust. Their face as well as their body, is swelled by reddish and scaly blotches, and eroded by pustules; their aspect is hideous, and one hastens to throw them some money, in order to get away from them. Hatred to Europeans has taken such deep root in the heart of Mussulmans, that unfortunate Turks confined in the enclosure intended for lepers, insulted us all, at the same time asking charity of us. How frequently have I not heard myself thus addressed: "*Pray, infidel, dog, give me a parat!*"

'Who would imagine that Love should also establish his throne in the midst of so horrible and disgusting an association? Intimate connexions are contracted between the wretches of which it is composed; the sharpness of their humours provokes their passion, or, to speak more correctly, their brutality; its effects are excessive; they are under no restraint: separated from the rest of mankind, they disdain every sort of reserve. In the open day, they are seen indulging in their voluptuous transports; and they cease not to lavish on each other these horrible caresses, till the moment when, sinking under the disorder which overwhelms them, they drop to pieces, decomposed by long and complete putrefraction.

'By the side of this melancholy heap of men in prey, while yet living, to a general corruption, is exhibited, from time to time, another spectacle which causes no less horror. It is on the edge of this same road, which leads to the only gate that Canea has on the land side, that criminals, who have undergone the terrible punishment of empalement, are exposed. They are ranged on each side of the road; and in this dreadful rank are seen men whose body is longitudinally transpierced by a stake, some dead, others expiring; some smoking their pipe, with as much sang-froid as if they were sitting on cushions, railing at the Europeans, and living, as long as twenty-four hours, in the most excruciating torments.

'Under a sky which the father of physic considered as the restorer of the health of mankind, the human species must naturally have partaken of so happy an influence. This, in fact, is what strikes the observer, as soon as he lands in the island of Candia. The Turks, whose race is already so hand-

some, have there acquired a taller stature, muscles more prominent and more strongly marked, broader chest and shoulders, all the proportions which constitute beauty and strength, together with an imposing step and carriage; but, through all these advantages, which we could not but wish to admire, the sternness of their countenance gives to their majestic exterior a formidable impression. This sort of brilliant acquisition, which the Turks have made in Candia, though generally among them is not so with the Greeks of that island. Of a stature less tall, a corpulence less prominent, a step less solemn, a make less robust, but more graceful, this people appear to have degenerated under a climate which is natural to them, and in which they are abandoned to slavery, which alike degrades both the form of the body and that of the mind.

'And this same disparity in the exterior attributes of the Turk and the Greek is also met with among the women of those two nations. The Turkish women are there handsomer than in the other parts of the East; whereas the female Greeks have, generally speaking, fewer charms, than they possess in several other countries. This fact is worthy of attention; it does not appear easy to assign its cause. How happens it that a temperature so favourable to the fine and vigorous constitution of foreigners has not, or at least appears not to have, any influence on that of the natives? The heavy yoke of cruel slavery may probably, as I have just said, with regard to the men, lessen the effect of a happy climate; but this impression cannot operate with so much activity on the person of the women, who, nevertheless, seem to have lost many more of their allurements.'

Our author dilates with great pleasure on the charms of nature in this famous island, the birth-place of Jupiter. He then proceeds to describe the ancient town of Candia, which is built on the spot which was occupied by the ancient city of Heraclea, is situated in a beautiful plain, intersected by sloping hills, which share its fertility. It is the *Khandak* of the Arabs; a word derived from *candax*, which, according to some of the learned, signifies *entrenchment.* It is evident from the buildings in this town, that it is not the work of the Turks;

straight streets, regular squares, houses substantially constructed--every thing announces that it owes its existence to the Venetians; but every thing announces, at the same time, both the frightful ravages of war and the slower havock of want. Here are still to be seen ruins, the remains of the memorable siege which it sustained, for twenty-three years, against the Ottoman forces. The loss of its commerce has changed its flourishing situation into an unhappy state, and has considerably reduced the number of its inhabitants, who, for the most part, have removed to Canea, together with the foreign merchants.

It is nevertheless, still the seat of the general government of the island. The pacha, sent thither by the court of Constantinople, is a pacha with three tails; but, proud of his dignity and of his power, he contents himself with commanding a militia frequently ungovernable: entirely occupied by his private fortune, he thinks only of extending it by exactions, and concerns himself little to re-establish, repair, or procure a few advantages for a country, to which he is a scourge, like the government from which he derives his authority.

Near Candia, are lying in the dust the ruins of Cnossus, an ancient town, where Minos held his court, and the abode of the most warlike people of the island of Crete. A small lage, *Cnossou*, would recall to mind the site of the ancient town, were it not discoverable, in a manner no less certain than afflicting, from the rubbish which covers it, and a great part of which has served for the buildings of modern Candia.

Having completed his view of Candia, M. Sonnini embarked in a small vessel, which, after a tedious passage, cast anchor in the roadstoad of Argentiera. 'Here' says he 'I found a Maltese felucca, forming a part of an armament which had sailed from Malta, and was commanded by a Frenchman named Coral. The crew of this felucca consisted only of fourteen hands. Of all privateer's men, this captain was certainly the greatest knave. He was a Sclavonian, extraordinarily brave, but still a greater drunkard, and at the same time a plunderer extremely dreaded. He had long followed this trade, and long been known in the Archipela-

go, where he had rendered himself formidable, and had even had the audacity to settle, having married a Greek woman belonging to Myconi. A Greek, brother to a drogueman of the Porte, commanded there; the Sclavonian had some difference with him, and ended by giving him a sound drubbing. After this violent proceeding, he rightly judged that it was not possible for him to remain in an island governed by a powerful man whom he had so outrageously treated: he retired to a neighbouring island. But, the Greek having preferred his complaint to the captain-pacha, four *tschavouschs*, or police-officers of the Porte, were sent thither with orders to the Greeks to give their utmost assistance in seizing the Sclavonian. The latter resided in a small village distant from the sea: led by some business, he was on his way to the harbour, when the *tschavouschs* arrived there; he had no suspicion, but was walking along in his usual manner, armed at all points. The police-officers had taken with them twenty Greeks, and, in order to surprise the impetuous foreigner, were advancing with precipitation towards the place where he dwelt, when they met him. He was not disconcerted; and, conceiving, from the sight of this party, that he was the man on whom they had a design, he threw off his cloak, and with his sabre in one hand, and a pistol in the other, he fell, swearing at the same time, on the undisciplined band, and put it to the rout. Turks and Greeks, all took to their heels; it was who could get away quickest. As for the Sclavonian, satisfied with having got rid of a troublesome and dastardly gang, and with having deprived them of any wish to return to the charge, he quietly continued his way. However, he was sensible that he could no longer remain in safety in a country where he would not fail to be overwhelmed by numbers, and delivered up to the vengeance of the Turks; he quitted his wife and his dwelling, and returned to Malta, there to resume his old profession of free-booter.

'Anxious to have a near view of so paltry an armed vessel as the felucca commanded by this Sclavonian, I repaired on board. I was there offered a very nice collation of dried and preserved fruits, and excellent Cyprus wine, which had not

cost much to those who piqued themselves on it. I was extremely astonished that a vessel, fit at most for a summer carrying-trade in the Archipelago, could have arrived there from Malta, and sailed in the open sea. Upwards of a month had elapsed since this felucca had separated from the commodore's ship, and it was suspected that the separation had been concerted among the people, to whom was imputed the design of appropriating to their own use a sum of four hundred thousand livres which they had on board, and which accrued from their depredations. But they were not agreed among themselves as to means of securing the possession and the division of riches so ill acquired. The greater part of the crew mistrusted the captain, and were apprehensive that his connexions in these parts, his boldness and his dishonesty, would induce him to carry off the sum, and thus deprive of it his companions in danger and rapine. On the other hand, they all dreaded to expose themselves. in the winter time, to proceed to Malta in so frail a vessel. There occurred, in my presence, a very animated discussion on the subject; the result was, that the commander would make arrangements with the French captain of the polacre on board of which I had arrived, to convey to Malta the privateer's men and their booty; and I was requested to apprize the latter of a project which could not but be agreeable to him.

'The very next day, the time fixed for settling about the freight, the Sclavonian repaired on board the polacre. He dined there, and this interview gave rise to some pleasant scenes, from the contrast afforded by the character of the two captains. The Frenchman, a mild and well-behaved man, had, besides a considerable share of devotion; the oaths of the captain of the privateer affected him strangely; and he was on the point of signing his name, when, having observed to the Sclavonian that he ought to think of the salvation of his soul, the only answer he received to this pious remonstrance, was the brutal assertion that that was useless, because it was not possible that the Almighty could pay any attention to rascals like himself.

'At last, after a long altercation, the price of the conveyance to Malta was settled at twelve hundred dollars; the privateer's

man requested to return on board his felucca, in order as he said, to fetch that sum, and pay it instantly; but we saw no more of him; and, after having, no doubt deceived his people as to the pretended impossibility of coming to any agreement, he immediately set sail, and saluted us by the discharge of a swivel, on passing us at some distance.

'A few days after, captain Coral, the commander of the expedition, came into the road of Argentiera with a small frigate. He was in search of his felucca, but we were unable to tell him what was become of her. According to every appearance, the little treasure which she had on board had been carried off by the Sclavonian, or swallowed up with him in the waves. The next day but one after the arrival of this frigate, there arose a terrible gale from the north, which forced a Turkish ship of war to take shelter in the same roadstead. The wind was so violent, that, that at the very moment when this ship anchored, her masts were cut away, in order to avoid dragging her anchors, and being dashed to pieces on the coast. The first danger being over, the Turks perceiving that they were near an enemy's frigate, were preparing to jump overboard, and swim on shore. But the same panic, which had taken possession of the Turkish crew, reigned on board the Maltese privateer; and, through an inconceivable resolution, Coral cut his cables, and fled with precipitation. Had he taken the smallest step for approaching the dismasted ship, he would have made himself master of her without experiencing the slightest resistance.

'The only inhabited place in the island of Argentiera is on the summit of a mountain of rocks, the ascent to which is by a very difficult road. It is hard to say whether this place should be called a town or a village. Were we to pay attention only to the small number, and above all to the wretched construction of the houses, it would be most assuredly no more than a bad village; but it is surrounded by high walls, and secured by two gates, and this circumstance gives it some appearance of a town and even of a city.

'A single street makes the circumference of the town or village of Argentiera. People who are as badly lodged as the Greeks of this island, were not likely to think of paving their

street, which, in rainy weather, is a long heap of deep mud; humidity, water itself then finds its way into the rooms of the ground floor, which are almost subterraneous, and renders them habitations equally unwholesome and inconvenient.

'Several Greek churches or chapels, scarcely possessing more riches than that of the catholics, are built behind the village. They all have, above their portal, little bells, which are frequently in motion. But, on a miserable and insulated land, their sound scares not the Mussulmans, and they have disdained to take away from a handful of Greeks, whose situation rendered them little worthy of attention, a privilege which they refuse with severity in almost all the parts of their empire, and which is of great value in the eyes of people, whose whole Christianity consists in exterior practices.

'A Greek of Argentiera itself, and sometimes of a neighbouring island, goes every year to Constantinople, to purchase the right of oppressing his countrymen, under the title of *vaivode*. This place, which answers to that of intendant, is a post which is put up to auction, and sold to the highest bidder. The islands of the Archipelago, where the Turks do not command in person, have the same form of administration; the vaivode there collects the public revenues, imposes arbitrary fines; in a word, torments his fellow-citizens by as many exactions and acts of injustice as could be committed by the most severe and most covetous Mussulman officer. With the exception of ill usage, of excesses of an unbridled violence, in which the Turkish commandants sometimes indulge themselves, towards a people whom they consider as a horde of slaves and reprobates, the vaivodes accompany their temporary functions with so much harshness and rapine, that the Greeks have most frequently to repent being governed by a man of their own nation.

'The island of Argentiera is nothing but a group of volcanic substances. It exhibits on all sides indications of those great fires which nature feeds in the bowels of the earth: every thing there presents the image of a vast combustion; and it is probable that these subterraneous fires, whose action has shewn itself externally, and has imprinted on the soil violent commo-

tions, which, combined with the effort of the waters, may have contributed by immense depressions to insulate it, are still burning with activity at great depths, and threaten it again perhaps with fresh convulsions.'

Here M. Sonnini pauses and offers some general observations on the customs and manners of the Greeks of the Archipelago. 'Their life' says he 'is simple; luxury dares not make its appearance, because the tyrant is continually on the watch, and ready to fall on the produce of industry, as soon as it bespeaks riches somewhat considerable. The Greek gives himself up only by stealth to the speculations of commerce; and if they make any display through too great success, he trembles for his fortune, sometimes even for his life. Rural labours would destroy too much the effects of industry, a secret which he is forced to conceal with care: thence results that the fields are uncultivated, that the wretchedness of the country finds its way into the inhabited places, and that one seldom perceives there the signs of a dangerous opulence.

'The Greeks of antiquity have been reproached with having a mind prone to superstition; this inclination has increased in proportion as ignorance has shaded, with her gloomy wings, countries which the arts and sciences have not been able to secure from superstitious credulity. In the time of the Greek emperors, this weakness appeared to have attained its highest pitch; the people were given, in a surprising manner, to presages, enchantments, and practices the most absurd; and it may be conceived whether, in our days, when slavery, the most powerful promoter of the degradation of nations, has united her sinister efforts to an ignorance ever increasing, that old disposition to errors have not struck roots more deep and more numerous. The Christian religion even is become, among this people, a new source of superstitions. That religion of celestial origin, which men and more particularly the ambition of priests, have spoiled, consists, for a Greek, only in ceremonies, in minute observances, in a multitude of practices. To him the sublime moral of the gospel is nothing; and provided he fast scrupulously, pronounce words which he considers as magical, and be exact in ceremonies, even foreign to those of

religion, he is persuaded that all his duties are performed, and that nothing can prevent him from giving himself up to excesses against society. It is not uncommon to see Greek pirates, addicted to all sorts of robberies, fancy themselves in full enjoyment of a safe conscience, because they strictly observe Lent, and recite orisons.

'If we examine the Greek of the Archipelago in the most solemn periods of civil life, we see him always abandoned to the absurd caprices of ignorance, and executing the most whimsical things, with as much sincerity as seriousness. At his birth, he is surrounded by the whole train of superstition, and he remains accompanied by it during the course of his life.

'The care which is lavished, in the islands of the Archipelago, on new-born infants, is like those which the mothers receive, a medley of useful practices and absurd conceptions of superstitious ignorance, a tyrannical divinity, of whom modern Greece is become the frightful domain, and who presides at the birth of its inhabitants, accompanies them during the course of their life, and does not even abandon them on the other side of the grave.

'As soon as the child is born, it is washed with lukewarm water; it is then covered, from the feet to the neck, with a coat of salt, which is considered as a sure preservative against worms and other disorders of the skin. After being wrapped up in swaddling clothes, it is put to bed, and then a loaf and a pestle, or any other piece of fashioned wood, is placed at its sides: the bread is to prevent the child from suffering from hunger as long as it lives, and the effect of the pestle is to render it as quiet as a log of wood. In other countries of the East, the mother takes her new-born child, and the midwife a brass mortar, with which she strikes three blows pretty near to the child's ear, in order, it is said, to open the organ of hearing, and prevent deafness.

'Whenever a child is laid down, the persons who are in the room are obliged to stay there till it is arranged in its bed, and no other can enter during the time that this operation lasts. The importance which is annexed to the non-infringement of these precautions, proves that they are of superior interest in

the mind of the Greeks; they are in fact persuaded, that the greatest inconveniences would thence result, if people took the liberty of transgressing them. These are not the only indifferent actions which are reckoned to have fatal effects on children; for example, neither fire nor light must be taken from a house where there is a new-born infant, if one wishes not to expose it to vent cries during the whole night.

'But the instant when it is swaddled, is principally considered as likely to produce dangers the most pressing, if those about it neglect to avoid every thing that they fancy might be prejudicial to it. Movements too much multiplied round its bed, indiscreet words, looks even, are so many pernicious actions: accordingly every one remains motionless, and preserves a religious silence. I happened one day, on seeing a child swaddled, to say: "*There's a pretty little infant.*" The midwife, occupied with this business, turned briskly towards me, at the same time exclaiming: "*Garlic in thy eyes!*" She then spat, with the same vivacity, and repeatedly, in the child's face, which very happily broke the charm, or the bad influence of words extremely innocent, and which I might think likely to be agreeable to the mother.

'Among the Greeks of the Archipelago, garlic is a wonderful antidote against malicious looks; some is suspended at the entrance of the houses and chambers, and it is worn as an amulet. In order to preserve children from this kind of witchcraft, there are also fastened before them three little pieces of charcoal and three grains of salt, sewed together in a little linen bag; and I remember that I had a very serious quarrel with a woman of this country, for having opened one of these amulets hung to the neck of her child, in order to see what it contained, and, above all, for having endeavoured to demonstrate to her the ridiculousness of these vain practices of superstition.

'It is not only on children that the influence of sinister looks are reckoned to be hurtful; men grown are equally exposed to it, and the Mahometans and Greeks partake, in this respect, of the same opinions. A Turk, who had a great regard for me, and who dreaded, on my account, the bad effects of the glances of envy, advised me to wear constantly a pod of garlic

on my breast; and seeing that I did not appear to adopt this preservative with much eagerness, turned towards a Greek priest who was at his side, and said to him with confidence:—"*These Franks are great blockheads, since this one, who, among them, is reckoned to be intelligent, knows nothing of what may be useful to him.*"

'To these absurd precautions for preserving little children, the Greek women add several others, which do not appear always conformable to the rules of a salutary regimen. The means which these women employ for hindering children from venting cries are rather singular. The mother chews cumin, and then blows it strongly into the mouth and ears of her child. Independently of cumin, the effect of which it is not easy to determine in such a case, the violent puffs impelled into the ears must astonish the child, and cause it to be silent, at least for some time.

'In order to excite children to sleep, they are made to swallow powdered nutmeg in milk; but the remedy which is the most commonly used in their illnesses, the most excellent panacea, is Venice treacle. On the smallest pain which they appear to feel, if they cry, if they sleep little, or if their appetite fail, in a word, in all their indispositions, of whatever nature they may be, recourse is had to treacle, as a sovereign and universal remedy. Scarcely a day passes without a little child swallowing some of this drug, or at least having a plaster of it on the navel; so that it may be asserted that in the Archipelago, a child consumes more of this treacle, during its first two years, than the man of our countries, the greatest admirer of this composition, during his whole life. The poor, for whom this treacle is too costly a remedy, supply its place by cumin seed, the plant of which is very common in the East, and which they reduce to a paste, in order to make their young children swallow it in lieu of the treacle.

'In order to avoid chaps and excoriations which greatly incommode children in all parts of the body that form folds moistened by sweat or urine, the Greek women wash them with warm wine, in which they infuse myrtle-leaves, dried and reduced to powder. These lotions are repeated every

other day, with considerable success; for one never sees a child whose skin is marked by the slightest excoriation.

'These pains, lavished with so much attention on new-born infants, the sacred pledges of maternal affection, which never errs so far as to intrust to a mercenery bosom the sacred obligation of suckling its offspring during a whole year, do not extend to the precautions prescribed by religion. The Greeks are not in such a hurry as the Catholics to cause baptism to be administered to their children. This delay is common enough in the class of the poor, because such must wait till they have saved up the money necessary for the payment of the papas, whose zeal does not go so far as to discharge their functions gratuitously. But as children are commonly distinguished only by the name which they receive in baptism, the Greeks have agreed to designate that which waits for the sacrament, by the generic denomination of *drako*, dragon, probably because at that time it has some conformity to Satan, the dragon of hell.

'Under the happy climate of Greece, the body sooner acquires its full growth than in our northern countries; there the organs, as well as all the physical faculties, are developed with less slowness; there the human species, in some measure more forward, seem to outstrip the period of its enjoyments, and hastens to display the elegant forms of beauty that nature has lavished on a land which she had fashioned to be the abode of felicity, and which the most disgusting tyranny, the dreadful scourge of societies, has transformed into places of wretchedness and desolation. The men, like the women, arrive sooner at that age, when the agitation and the disorder of the senses give birth to a new sense, in which man seems only to receive his existence, in which every thing becomes animated and embellished, in which every thing appears around him to burn with the same flame by which he is deliciously consumed.

'It is not uncommon, in the islands of the Archipelago, to see girls marriageable at ten years old; and, when they have attained the age of fifteen or sixteeen, they have scarcely any thing more to acquire in point of shape, strength, and all the attributes of the most beautiful physical constitution.

'It is not astonishing that women, whom the nature of the climate causes to arrive sooner at a marriageable state, should have moral dispositions which agree with this physical precocity. The vivacity, the transport even of feeling, accompany this forward adolescence of the senses. That devouring fire which endeavours to communicate itself externally, is very active among the Greek females; they are very susceptible of the impressions of love; tender and passionate, the object beloved is every thing in their eyes; to preserve it, no sacrifice is painful to them, and they are, in this way, real heroines. What a charming country is that where the mildness of the climate and the dress of the earth are in delightful harmony with that beauty, which love animates with its fascinating features, tenderness with its sweetest effusions, and a generous and entire devotion with the slights of energy and courage!

'To the Greeks it is a social duty, which tends to the purity of domestic manners, to marry young. Among them are not seen that multitude of old bachelors, children of the combinations of insensibility and the scourge of morals; girls have not many years to celebrate the festival of St. John with their *secret water*, prepared with an ingenious and restless curiosity; and young men hasten to unite themselves with those whom their heart, rather than their parents, has chosen. Love always presides at knots which vile interest has not tied; and friendship, as well as fidelity and attachment to duties, do not permit them to be loosened, at least in the islands of the Archipelago, where habits are more simple, and less corrupted by ambition and cupidity, than in great towns. Divorce, which is allowed to the Greeks, scarcely occurs but in the bosom of trading cities and in the opulent class, whose calculations and speculations frequently supply the place of sentiment; but this dissolution of sacred engagements is extremely rare among the islanders, who know how to love in a durable manner, and whose marriages are better assorted than in the midst of the luxury of cities. Conjugal love is there in all its force; and this respected sentiment is one of the virtues of the modern Greek women.

'Some young men at marriage conceive themselves to be bewitched. Many schemes are adopted to break the enchantment which only increases the disorder, until at the end of a few months, finding it impossible to consummate the marriage, it is dissolved and the parties are permitted to marry again.

'I found a singular prejudice spread among the women of the Archipelago. Those who suckle their children are persuaded that if, for any want whatever, their milk should happen to be warmed over the fire, their bosom would become dry, and the milk would infallibly go away, to return no more.

'However, all physic, in the Greek islands, is founded only on practices, on secrets, which are scarcely more rational than the opinion of the women respecting their milk. If we except a few foreigners, who seldom come thither to assume or usurp the title of physicians, there are none in these islands; and I must add, to the praise of the climate, more than to the detriment of the art, that, generally speaking, people there enjoy a state of health sufficiently good not to be tempted to regret it. In common complaints, or accidents, recourse is had to women, who have the tradition of some recipes, which they apply without too much discernment, but which, nevertheless, often produce good effects.

'All the expressions and marks of grief that the most lively sensibility can inspire are displayed among the Greeks, on the death of a person beloved, and present scenes extremely affecting. Regret, tears, melting adieus, attend the departed to the grave; it is not the cold and momentary transports which custom prescribes, all the movements of which etiquette regulates and marks out, and which affect not more those who are witnesses of them, than those who appear to be moved by them. There, nothing is feigned; grief takes its full scope, and one throws one's self into the arms of death, with the certainty of living for a long time in the memory and in the hearts of one's relations and friends; a consoling idea, which makes one descend into the grave without regret, and smoothens the road of eternity.

'I was one day called, in great haste, to bleed a young and charming *papadia:* the reader may remember that this is the

name of the wife of the *papas*, or secular priest. She had, as I was told, fallen into a swoon, in consequence of a violent remedy which had been administered to her. I found her extended on her bed in a room rather large, but heated by several fires, and still more by about two hundred persons, who were in lamentation. The extreme heat of this apartment would have been sufficient to suffocate a person in the best health. On my approach, the crowd made way; a silence, which was scarcely interrupted by a few smothered sobs, reigned in the apartment: I was regarded as a man who was going to pronounce an oracle: every eye, as well as every one's attention, was directed towards me; an uneasy hope had taken possession of every mind. The young woman seemed to slumber; her cheeks had lost nothing of their colour, and her rosy lips were agreeably closed against each other. She was, nevertheless, without movement, without pulse, and without respiration: a few drops of volatile alkali, introduced into her nose, made no impression; her extremities were cold, and every thing announced that she no longer existed. Her relations, who surrounded the bed of death, did not think that all had been done; they required the trial of a bleeding; but the particular sound conveyed to my ear on introducing my lancet into her arm, demonstrated to me that it was entering into dead flesh. I announced that every hope was lost; and scarcely had I finished these words, when all those present, men and women, crowded round the corpse, threw themselves on the bed, at the same time striking themselves on the forehead, tearing their hair, and venting cries of despair. They called on the dead woman with a loud voice, requested her to live, and entreated her not to forsake them. I found myself in a very awkward predicament: I was no longer seen, no farther attention was paid to me. I was squeezed on all sides, pushed on the bed, and almost smothered. I had much difficulty to extricate myself from this embarrassment, and force my way through the crowd, in order to escape from a place which no longer presented any thing but the delirium of affliction.

'The next day, I saw the funeral procession of this same woman: she was borne on a kind of litter, with her face

uncovered, and dressed in her wedding clothes. Her mouth was filled with cotton: it is a universal custom among the nations of the East, to stop closely with cotton every aperture of the body; and the Greeks never fail, when a person has expired, to open doors and windows, in order that the angels may come in and go out freely.

'A great number of persons formed the procession. In towns, hired female mourners vent plaintive cries; but this luxury of grief is unknown in the greater part of the islands of the Archipelago; no one is paid to cry, and people cry themselves with much bitterness. The female relations of the dead woman were particularly distinguishable, from the excess of their groans and the movements of their affliction; they struck and tore their breasts; their long hair, unbraided and undressed, fell loose on their shoulders and neck, and from time to time they pulled off locks of it; the blood gushed from their head, and their tears were mingled with the drops of blood which flowed from their cheeks, torn by their nails. It is not possible to paint the agitation of soul with which these feeling and loving women were transported; and I was so struck by it, that I shall long preserve the impression of melancholy left on my mind by the violence of their affliction.'

After describing several small unimportant isles, our French author describes the island of Patmos, which name says he has been disfigured by our navigators into that of *Saint Jean de Patino*, which exhibits its arid rocks and numerous capes. It is celebrated in ecclesiastical history, from the exile of St. John, and still more from the visions and revelations which he there received, and which served him for composing the Apocalypse. Some caloyers, inhabitants of a vast monastery built on an eminence, and which, at the first view, one would be tempted to take for a fortress, true disciples of stupid ignorance, still shew the grotto where the saint wrote his mysterious book, and even the hole in the wall through which he received the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

There is no library in this convent; and of what utility would it be, among people who, for the most part cannot read? Out of eighty monks who reside there, M. de Choiseul-

Gouffier found only three who knew how to read, but who made little use of that knowledge. It is, nevertheless this haunt of brutality and ignorance, where the alphabet is scarcely known, which has been represented recently as a place famous for its schools of literature.

The island of Patmos is little more than six leagues in circuit; considerably longer than broad, its direction is from north to south; its form is very irregular. Its coasts are divided by a multitude of gulfs and coves, and are remarkable for the number of good harbours which they present to navigators, and among which that of *Scala* is one of the finest in the *Archipelago*. Whatever advantages may be derived from its harbours by a country whose position marks it out for a place of trade, wretchedness has not, on that account, the less got possession of Patmos. Vallies which might insure abundance, are uncultivated, and from their state of abandonment and nakedness, offer, with the hills by which they are surrounded, only the same afflicting tint of ruggedness and misfortune. Population, which follows the chances of agriculture and industry, is there singularly diminished; and, while the monasteries swarm with sluggards, the fields become deserts. In the summer, few men remain here; they almost all go and seek far off means of subsistence, or carry on with their caïques, a traffic which feeds, but does not enrich them. The women remain intrusted with domestic cares, and to make the most of a few pieces of land, during the absence of their fathers or husbands; and this timid tribe hide and shut themselves up, when they see strangers land in their island.

Having visited Myconi, and some other islets, our traveller proceeds—'A sort of religious tremor takes possession of the mind, when, on quitting the island of *Myconi*, one makes sail to the west, and approaches an island very small, but which was in antiquity the most celebrated of all; a sacred spot, the cradle of Apollo and Diana, the subject of the songs of the most famous poets, and the object of the veneration of the ancients, who came thither to adore Apollo in a temple, one of the most superb edifices on earth, and the majestic ornament of the most magnificent city in the world. Who has not heard

of the wonders of Delos, of its monuments, of its brilliant population, of the magnificent elegance of its architecture? Who, with a taste for the beautiful, has not, in the annals of the happy days of Greece, greedily sought the description of so many miracles of art? I shall not here repeat what may be read in several works of great merit, among which that of Barthelemi ought in my opinion, to hold the first rank.

'But the island of Delos, formerly so opulent, and where were celebrated with so much pomp religious ceremonies, in presence of an immense concourse who repaired thither from all points of the East, is now no longer any thing but a desert abandoned to filthy animals and covered with ruins and rubbish. Pirates and robbers are almost the only men who land there; they go thither to share the fruit of their plunder, or concert new schemes of rapine, seated on fragments of altars where incense and perfumes burnt in honour of the god of day.

'The ruins of Delos, the imposing remains of the most beautiful edifices of which ancient Greece was proud, are now no longer what they were at the periods when modern travellers visited and described them. They themselves have their ruins, and they owe this fresh degradation to the profane barbarism of people who came thither to take materials for building their houses, or to wretched Turkish sculptors, who carry off every year precious pieces, in order to make of them those little pillars surmounted by a turban, which the Mahometans erect over the grave of the dead. The name even of Delos is forgotten in the seas where it had acquired so great a celebrity. The Greeks at this day name *Dili* the two islands of Delos, and our navigators distinguish them by the denomination of *Isdiles*, *Les Isdiles*.

'In the isle of Scio the town is tolerably large and well built; it is the work of the Genoese, who for a long time had the whole island in their possession. The ancient town, which, as well as the island, bore the name of *Chios* or *Chio*, was placed on the summit of a mountain. The modern town is at the foot of this same mountain, by the sea-side, and its situation is thence become much more agreeable. The Greeks who inhabit it are still as in Bélon's time, the most polite, the most

affable, the most gay, and perhaps, the most witty of all the Greeks. The women there are charming, and, as Bélon says, very courteous. There are none, perhaps, who have such engaging manners; and, to see them at the doors of their houses, press strangers to enter with them, pull them even by the arm, and invite them with much sprightliness, we cannot, at first, avoid conceiving an improper opinion of women so free in appearance. But all these demonstrations, which, among us, are the height of depravity, are, at Scio, no more than ebullitions of an affectionate and hospitable heart, and of the wish to derive some advantage from the works on which they employ themselves; and any one would be singularly deceived, if, emboldened by the semblance of enticements, he should attempt to take an unfair advantage of women, who introduce strangers into their houses with a frankness which, from a habit of corruption, is reckoned a want of reserve. Under appearances the most attractive, and at the same time the most familiar and engaging, the seducer would, in an easy *tete-a-tete*, meet with only the imposing resistance of the most rigid virtue, and the shame of being mistaken.

'These women so frank, but at the same time so virtuous, knit with silk several sorts of works, and particularly handsome purses. The desire of selling them has induced those who work them, to learn to offer them in the language of all the nations which traffic in the Levant; and a Frenchman, as well as an Italian and a Swede, heard himself addressed from all quarters, in his language, when he passed in the streets of Scio, "Sir, Sir, come and see some handsome purses!" I bought some of these purses at Scio; the handsomest, which are also the largest, cost me not three livres a piece, and they could not be procured in France for more than double that price.'

After leaving Scio, M. Sonnini landed in Tenedos. 'The possession of this island' he observes 'which is situated near the mouth of the channel of the Dardanelles, might alone involve the loss of Constantinople; from this point would be formed the blockade of that great city, with the more facility, as the channel between the continent and Tenedos is, correctly speaking, only a large roadstead, where ships may lie at anchor,

ready to get under sail, and stop those which should attempt to penetrate into the strait of the Dardanelles. But the Ottoman government, incapable of feeling the importance of this advantageous port, seems to watch it with still greater negligence than other places whose preservation would be less useful. The wines of Tenedos are almost the sole trade of the island: here are made muscadine wines, which are not inferior to those of Samos.'

Our learned and entertaining traveller next visited the town of Salonica, which has been often described. From thence he made an excursion to mount Olympus. After viewing this celebrated mountain, he returned to Salonica, and then sailed for France, after an absence and a journey of four years.

TRAVELS

IN

THE HOLY LAND,

BY

EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE, L. L. D.

THE travels of Dr. Clarke in various countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa, have received the stamp of public approbation. The industry, accuracy, and learning, displayed by this traveller, merit the highest respect, and will perpetuate the singular estimation in which his labours are held.

Having already accompanied some celebrated travellers through the most interesting countries visited by Dr. Clarke, we will confine ourselves to his description of Syria and the Holy Land.

Our learned traveller embarked at Alexandria in Egypt, on board the Romulus, captain Culverhouse, and in five days came to anchor in the bay of Acre, where the Romulus saluted the fort, which was returned in the most irregular manner.

'Soon after we arrived,' says Dr. Clarke 'we went on shore with the captain, to visit Djezzar pacha, whom baron de Tott found at Acre, and described as a horrible tyrant above twenty years prior to our coming. Having acted as interpreter for captain Culverhouse, in all his interviews with this extraordinary man, and occasionally as his confidential agent when he was not himself present, I had favourable opportunities of studying Djezzar's character. At that time, shut up in his fortress at Acre, he defied the whole power of Turkey, despised

the vizier, and derided the menaces of the capudan pacha; although he always affected to venerate the title and the authority of the sultan. His mere name carried terror with it over all the Holy Land, the most lawless tribes of Arabs expressing their awe and obeisance, whensoever it was uttered. As for his appellation, *Djezzar*, as explained by himself, it signified *butcher;* but of this name, notwithstanding its avowed allusion to the slaughters committed by him, he was evidently vain. He was his own minister, chancellor, treasurer, and secretary; often his own cook and gardener; and not unfrequently both judge and executioner in the same instant. Yet there were persons who had acted, and still occasionally officiated, in these several capacities, standing by the door of his apartment; some without a nose, others without an arm, with one ear only, or one eye; "*marked men*," as he termed them; persons *bearing signs* of their having been instructed to serve their master with fidelity. Through such an assemblage we were conducted to the door of a small chamber, in a lofty part of his castle, over-looking the port. A Jew who had been his private secretary met us, and desired us to wait in an open court or garden before this door, until Djezzar was informed of our coming. This man, for some breach of trust, had been deprived of an ear and an eye at the same time. At one period of the pacha's life, having reason to suspect the fidelity of his wives, he put seven of them to death with his own hands. It was after his return from a pilgrimage to Mecca; the janissaries, during his absence, having obtained access to the charem. If his history be ever written, it will have all the air of a romance. His real name is Achmed. He was a native of Bosnia, and speaks the Sclavonian language better than any other. It is impossible to give even a detail of his numerous adventures here. At an early period of his life, he sold himself to a slave-merchant in Constantinople; and being purchased by Ali Bey, in Egypt, he rose from the humble situation of a Mamluke slave, to the post of governor of Cairo. In this situation, he distinguished himself by the most rigorous execution of justice, and realized the stories related of Oriental caliphs, by mingling, in disguise, with the inhabitants of the city, and thus making

himself master of all that was said concerning himself, or transacted by his officers. The interior of his mysterious palace, inhabited by his women, or, to use the Oriental mode of expression, the charem of his seraglio, is accessible only by himself. Early in every evening he regularly retired to this place, through three massive doors, every one of which he closed and barred with his own hands. To have knocked at the outer door after he had retired, or even to enter the seraglio, was an offence that would have been punished with death. No person in Acre knew the number of his women, but from the circumstance of a certain number of covers being daily placed in a kind of wheel or turning cylinder, so contrived as to convey dishes to the interior, without any possibility of observing the person who received them. He had from time to time received presents of female slaves; these had been sent into his charem, but, afterwards, whether they were alive or dead, no one knew except himself. They entered never to go out again; and, thus immured, were cut off from all knowledge of the world, except what he thought proper to communicate. If any of them were ill, he brought a physician to a hole in the wall of the charem, through which the sick person was allowed to thrust her arm; the pacha himself holding the hand of the physician during the time her pulse was examined. If any of them died, the event was kept as secret as when he massacred them with his own hands; and this, it was said, he had done in more than one instance. Such stories are easily propagated, and as readily believed; and it is probable that many of them are without foundation. We must however admit the truth of the terrible examples he made after his return from Mecca, in consequence of the infidelity of his women. From all the information we could obtain, he considered the female tenants of his charem as the children of his family. When he retired, he carried with him a number of watch-papers he had amused himself by cutting with scissors during the day, as toys to distribute among them; neither could there be any possible motive of cruelty, even in the worst of tyrants, towards such defenceless victims. He was above sixty years old at the time of our arrival, but vain of the

vigour he still retained at that advanced age. He frequently boasted of his extraordinary strength; and used to bare his arm, in order to exhibit his brawny muscles. Sometimes, in conversation with strangers, he would suddenly leap upright from his seat, to shew his activity. He has been improperly considered as pacha of Acre. His real pachalic was that of *Seide*, anciently called Sidon: but, at the time of our arrival, he was also lord of Damascus, of Berytus, Tyre, and Sidon; and, with the exception of a revolt among the Druses, might be considered master of all Syria. The seat of government was removed to Acre, on account of its port, which has been at all times the key to Palestine. The port of Acre is bad; but it is better than any other along the coast. That of *Seide* is very insecure, and the harbour of Jaffa worse than any of the others. The possession of Acre extended his influence even to Jerusalem. It enables its possessor to shut up the country, and keep its inhabitants in subjection. All the rice, which is the staple food of the people, enters by this avenue: the lord of Acre may, if it so pleases him, cause a famine to be felt even over all Syria. Here then we have a clue to the operations of the French, in this, as well as in every other part of the world. They directed every effort towards the possession of Acre, because it placed the food of all the inhabitants of this country in their power, and, consequently, its entire dominion. It is a principal of policy, which even Djezzar pacha, with his propensity for *truisms*, would have deemed it superfluous to insist upon, that the key of a public granary is the mightiest engine of military operation. Hence we find Acre to have been the last place from which the Christians were expelled in the Holy Land; and hence its tranquil possession, notwithstanding the insignificant figure it makes in the map of this great continent, is of more importance than the greatest armies, under the most victorious leader, ever sent for its invasion. This it was that gave to an old man pent up in a small tower by the sea-side the extraordinary empire he possessed. Djezzar had with him, in a state of constant imprisonment, many of the most powerful chieftains of the country. The sons of the princes of Libanus remained with

him always as hostages; for the Druses, inhabiting all the mountainous district to the north and east of Seide, were constantly liable to revolt.

'We found Djezzar seated on a mat in a little chamber, destitute even of the meanest article of furniture, excepting a coarse, porous, earthenware vessel for cooling the water he occasionally drank. He was surrounded by persons maimed and disfigured in the manner before described. He scarcely looked up to notice our entrance, but continued his employment of drawing upon the floor, for one of his engineers, a plan of some works he was then constructing. His form was athletic, and his long white beard entirely covered his breast. His habit was that of a common Arab, plain but clean, consisting of a white camlet over a cotton cassock. His turban was also white. Neither cushion nor carpet decorated the naked boards of his divan. In his girdle he wore a poignard set with diamonds; but this he apologized for exhibiting, saying it was his badge of office, as governor of Acre, and therefore could not be laid aside. Having ended his orders to the engineer, we were directed to sit upon the end of the divan; and signor Bertocino, his dragoman, kneeling by his side, he prepared to hear the cause of our visit.

'The conversation began by a request from the pacha, that English captains, in future, entering the bay of Acre, would fire only one gun, rather as a signal, than as a salute upon their arrival. "There can be no good reason," said he, "for such a waste of gunpowder, in ceremony between friends. Besides," he added, "I am too old to be pleased with ceremony: among forty-three pachas of three tails, now living in Turkey, I am the senior. My occupations are consequently, as you see, very important," taking out a pair of scissors, and beginning to cut figures in paper, which was his constant employment when strangers were present: these he afterwards stuck upon the wainscot. "I shall send each of you away," said he, "with good proof of old Djezzar's ingenuity. There," addressing himself to captain Culverhouse, and offering a paper cannon, "there is a symbol of your profession:" and while I was explaining to the captain the meaning of this singular

address, he offered me a paper flower, denoting, as he said, "*a florid interpretation of blunt speech.*" As often as we endeavoured to introduce the business of our visit, he affected to be absorbed in these trifling conceits, or turned the conversation by allegorical sayings, to whose moral we could find no possible clue. His whole discourse was in parables, proverbs, truisms, and Oriental apologues. One of his tales lasted nearly an hour, about a man who wished to enjoy the peaceful cultivation of a small garden, without consulting the lord of the manor, whenever he removed a tulip; alluding, perhaps, to his situation with reference to the grand signior. There was evidently much cunning and deep policy in his pretended frivolity. Apparently occupied in regulating the shape of a watch-paper with his scissors, he was all the while deeply attentive to our words, and even to our looks, anxious to discover whether there was any urgency in the nature of our visit; and certainly betraying as much ostentation in the seeming privations to which he exposed himself, as he might have done by the most stately magnificence. He was desirous of directing the attention of his visitors to the homeliness of his mode of living: "If I find," said he, "only bread and water in another world, I shall have no cause of complaint, because I have been accustomed to such fare all my days; but those who have fared sumptuously in this life, will, I suspect, be much disappointed in the next." We spoke of the camp of his cavalry, then stationed near the town; and of the great preparations he seemed to be making against the Druses, and other rebel Arabs, with whom he was at war. "It is not," said he, "the part of a wise man to despise his enemy, whatsoever shape he may assume. If he be but a pismire, there is no reason why he should be permitted to creep upon your cheek while you are sleeping." We found we had touched a tender string; he believed these dissentions had been excited in his dominions by sir Sidney Smith, to divert him from the possibility of assisting the French, by attacking the vizier's army in its march through Syria; and was much incensed while he complained to us of this breach of confidence. "I ate," said he, "bread and salt with that

man; we were together as sworn friends. He did what he pleased here. I lent him my staff; he released all my prisoners, many of whom were in my debt, and never paid me a parâ. What engagements with him have I violated? What promises have I not fulfilled? What requests have I denied? I wished to combat the French by his side; but he has taken care that I shall be confined at home, to fight against my own people. Have I merited such treatment?" When he was a little pacified, we ventured to assure him that he had listened to his own and to sir Sidney's enemies; that there did not exist a man more sincerely allied to him; and that the last commission we received, previously to our leaving the fleet, were sir Sidney's memorials of his regard for Djezzar pacha. In proof of this, I presumed to lay before him the present sir Sidney had entrusted to my care. It was a small but very elegant telescope, with silver slides. He regarded it however with disdain, saying, it had too splendid an exterior for him; and taking down an old ship glass, that hung above his head, covered with greasy leather, added, "Humbler instruments serve my purposes; besides, you may tell sir Sidney that Djezzar, old as he is, seldom requires the aid of a glass to view what passes around him." Finding it impossible to pacify him upon this subject, we turned the conversation, by stating the cause of our visit to Acre, and requested a supply of cattle for the use of the British fleet. He agreed to furnish an hundred bullocks, but upon the sole condition of not being offered payment for them in money. He said it would require some time to collect cattle for that purpose: we therefore persuaded captain Culverhouse to employ the interval in making, with us, a complete tour of the Holy Land. Djezzar, having heard of our intention, promised to supply us with horses from his own stables, and an escort, formed of his body guard, for the undertaking; ordering also his dragoman, signior Bertocino, to accompany us during the expedition, and to render us every assistance in his power.

'A very extraordinary accident happened the third day after our arrival, which had like to have put an end to all our pursuits in this and every other part of the world. We had

been in the morning to visit Djezzar, and had passed the day in viewing the bezesten (a covered place for shops, very inferior to that of Constantinople or of Moscow,) the custom-house, and some other objects of curiosity in the place. Signior Bertocino, interpreter to the pacha, and the imperial consul, Mr. Catafago, came to dine with us on board the Romulus. In the evening we accompanied them on shore, and took some coffee in the house of the consul, where we were introduced to the ladies of his family. We were amused by seeing his wife, a very beautiful woman, sitting cross-legged by us upon the divan of his apartment, and smoking tobacco with a pipe six feet in length. Her eye-lashes, as well as those of all the other women, were tinged with a black powder made of the sulpheret of antimony, and having by no means a cleanly appearance, although considered as essential an addition to the decorations of a woman of rank in Syria, as her ear-rings, or the golden cinctures of her ankles. Dark streaks were also penciled, from the corners of her eyes, along the temples. This curious practice instantly brought to our recollection certain passages of Scripture, wherein mention is made of a custom among Oriental women of "*putting the eyes in painting*;" and which our English translators of the Bible, unable to reconcile with their notions of a female toilet, have rendered "*painting the face.*" Whether the interesting conversation to which the observance of this custom gave rise, or any other cause, prevented the consul from informing us of an order of the pacha, is now of no moment, but it was after the hour of eight when we left his hospitable mansion to return on board the Romulus; and Djezzar had decreed that no boat should pass the bar of the inner harbour after that hour. The crew of the long-boat were pulling stoutly for the ship, when, just as we were rowing beneath the tower of the battery that guards the inner harbour, a volley of large stones came like cannon-shot upon us from above, dashed the oars from the hands of our sailors, and wounded three of them severely. It is very fortunate none of their brains were beat out, for some of the stones weighed several pounds. The cries of our wounded men gave us the first alarm, and presently another volley drove

us back with all possible speed towards the shore. Not one of us who sat in the stern of the boat received any injury. Captain Culverhouse, and Mr. Loudon, purser of the Romulus, ran for the consul: the rest of us rushed into the ground-floor of the watch-tower whence the attack proceeded: it was a kind of guard-room. Being the foremost of the party, I observed a man in the very act of descending from the tower into this place, evidently in some agitation. Having seized him by the collar, a struggle ensued: the other Arabs attempted to rescue him, and a general confusion prevailed, in the midst of which the consul and captain Culverhouse entered the place. It was some time before any order could be restored; our party were determined not to give up the culprit we had secured; but the consul knowing him, and undertaking to be responsible for his appearance when called for, we retired, and went on board the Romulus.

'Next morning, word was brought to the ship, that unless the captain went on shore, the man would be put to death. We accompanied him to the consul's house, and met the pacha's interpreter; but found that the whole was a fabrication; no notice had been taken of the event, and Djezzar was yet ignorant of the circumstance. Upon this, captain Culverhouse returned to his ship; and sent me to inform the pacha, that he should be compelled to have recourse to other measures, if the insult offered to his majesty's flag was not properly noticed; and that he would go no more on shore until this was done. Determined, therefore, that Djezzar should have due information of the outrage, I took with me the stones which were found in the long-boat, tied in a sack; one of the wounded sailors, and a midshipman, being ordered to accompany me. Signior Bertocino met us upon the shore, assuring me that it was the hour when Djezzar always slept; that it would be certain death to any one of his slaves who should wake him: and having earnestly entreated me not to venture to the palace, he declined acting as interpreter. I resolved therefore to make myself understood without his aid; and ascended the staircase of the seraglio, towards the door of the apartment wherein Djezzar had always received us. This I found shut. The

guards, mute, or whispering, began their signs to us, as we advanced, not to make any noise. The young midshipman, however, as well as myself, began to knock at the door, and immediately every one of the guards fled. It was some time before any notice was taken of our summons; but at length the door was opened by a slave, appointed, as we were afterwards informed, to keep flies from the pacha's face during his sleep, and who always remained with him, in the outer apartment of his charem, for this purpose, during the repose he took in the day. This man, after putting his finger to his lips, pushed us from the passage, saying, "*Heida! heida, djour! hist! hist!*" that is to say, "*Begone, begone, infidel! hush! hush!*" We called loudly for *Djezzar;* and presently heard the murmuring of the old pacha's voice in the inner apartment, somewhat milder than the growling of a bear roused from his repose, calling for his slave. As soon as he had been told the cause of the disturbance, he ordered us to be admitted. I presented myself foremost, with my sack of stones; and understanding enough of Arabic to comprehend him when he asked what was the matter, untied the cloth, and rolled them before him upon the floor; shewing him, at the same time, our seamen's broken shins and wounded shoulder. Bertocino was now loudly called for by the pacha, and, of course, compelled to make his appearance; Djezzar making signs to me and to the young officer to remain seated by him until his interpreter arrived. As soon as Bertocino had placed himself, as usual, upon his knees, by the pacha's side, and informed him of the cause of our visit, an order was given to one of the attendants, to bring the captain of the guard instantly into Djezzar's presence. This man came: it appeared that his absence from his post the preceding evening had given occasion to the attack made upon the long-boat; some of the fanatic Arabs thinking it a fine opportunity to strike a blow at a party of infidels. Nothing could exceed the expression of fury visible in Djezzar's countenance at this intelligence. It might have been said of him as of Nebuchadnezzar, "*The form of his visage was changed.*" Drawing his dagger, he beckoned the officer,—as Bertocino trembling said to us,

"*Now you will be satisfied!*" "What," said I, "is he going to do?" "*To put to death that poor man,*" added he: and scarcely were the words uttered, than I, more terrified than any of the party, caught hold of Djezzar's arm; the midshipman adding his entreaties to mine; and every one of us earnestly supplicating pardon for the poor victim. All we could obtain, was permission from the pacha to have the punishment suspended until captain Culverhouse was informed of the circumstance, who coming on shore, saved the man's life; but nothing could prevail upon Djezzar to grant him a free pardon. He was degraded from his rank as an officer, and we heard of him no more.

'The next morning, an Albanian general was ordered into the mountains, with a party of cavalry, to act against the Druses. Djezzar, who sent for us to inform us of this circumstance, further told us, that he entertained some apprehensions on account of our journey to Jerusalem; but, said he, "I have already sent messengers into the country, that every precaution may be used among the chiefs in the villages." He spoke also of the news he had received from Egypt, whereby he understood that the vizier had retreated from before Cairo, on account of the plague. "This conduct" said he, "might be justifiable in a Christian general, but it is disgraceful in a Turk." During this conversation, which lasted near an hour, interlarded, on the part of Djezzar, with a more than ordinary allowance of aphorisms, truisms, and childish stories, he was occupied, as usual, in cutting paper into various shapes; such as those of coffee-pots, pipes, cannons, birds, and flowers. At last, his engineer coming to consult him concerning the improvements he imagined himself making in the fortifications of Acre, we took that opportunity to retire. Some notion may be formed of his talents in fortification, by simply relating the manner in which those works were carried on. He not only repaired the memorable breach caused by the French, and so ably defended by sir Sidney Smith, but directed his engineers to attend solely to the place where the breach was effected, regardless of all that might be wanted elsewhere. "Some persons," said he, putting his finger to

his forehead, "have a head for these matters, and some have not. Let us see whether or not Bonaparte will make a breach there again. A breach is a breach, and a wall is a wall!"

'The bath of Acre is the finest and best built of any that we saw in the Turkish empire. We all bathed here, during our stay. Every kind of antique marble, together with large pillars of Egyptian granite, might be observed among the materials of its construction. A great quantity of cotton is exported from this place. The country abounds in cattle, corn, olives, and linseed. In almost every town of Syria there is a fabric for the manufacture of soap; but every thing depends upon the will of the pacha: the produce of the land was exported, or not, as it pleased Djezzar, who cared very little for consequences. His avarice, it is true, prompted him to increase the income of his custom-houses, but his ignorance, as it was observed of him by baron de Tott, prevented his discovering, that "speculations of revenue, when they strike at industry, cannot for that reason, ever be calculated on any principles of commerce."

'Upon the third of July, we began our journey to Jerusalem; intending first to visit all those places in Galilee rendered remarkable by the life and actions of Jesus Christ, We left Acre, by the southern gate of the city, at four o'clock P. M.

'In the light sandy soil, containing a mixture of black vegetable earth, which lies near the town, we observed plantations of water-melons, pumpkins, and a little corn; also abundance of cattle. We continued along the sea-shore until we arrived at the camp of Djezzar's cavalry. The pacha had fixed upon this place as a point of rendezvous for mustering our party. We found our whole force to consist of twenty-three armed persons on horseback, with two camels laden,—a cavalcade which the turbulent state of the country at this time rendered absolutely necessary for our security. The individuals composing it were, captain Culverhouse, of the Romulus frigate; Mr Loudon, purser of the same ship; Mr. Catafago, the imperial consul; signior Bertocino, interpreter to the pacha; the captain of Djezzar's body guard; ten Arab soldiers of his cavalry; the cockswain of the captain's barge; two servants;

two Arab grooms belonging to Djezzar's stables; Antonio Manurâki, our own faithful interpreter; Mr. Cripps; and the author of these travels. This number was soon augmented by pilgrims from the different places we passed through, desirous of an escort to Jerusalem; so that at last we formed a redoubtable caravan. In viewing the camps of the country, we were struck by the resemblance between the ordinary tents of European armies, and those used by Arabs in this part of Asia.

'In the beginning of our journey, several of the escort amused us by an exhibition of the favourite exercise called *Djirit:* also by an equestrian sport, resembling a game called "Prisoner's Base" in England. In the plain near Acre we passed a small conical hill, whereon we observed a ruin and several caverns: this answers to the situation assigned by Josephus for the sepulchre of Memnon. We crossed the sandy bed of the river Belus, near its mouth, where the stream is shallow enough to allow of its being forded on horseback: here, it is said, Hercules found the plant *Colocasia*, which effected the cure of his wounds. According to Pliny, the discovery of the art of making glass was made by some mariners who were boiling a kettle upon the sand of this river: it continued for ages to supply not only the manufactories of Sidon, but all other places, with materials for that purpose.

'The variety and beauty of the different species of *carduus*, or thistle, in this country, are well worth notice; a never-failing indication of rich soil in any land, but here manifesting the truth of Jacob's prophecy, who foretold the "fatness of the bread of Asher, and the "royal dainties" of his territory. We observed one in particular, whose purple head covered all the inland parts of Palestine with its gorgeous hue. After we had quitted the valley, and ascended the hill, we arrived about eight P. M. at the agha's mansion, the chief of the village. Being conducted up a rude flight of steps to the top of the house, we found, upon the flat roof, the agha of *Shefhamer* seated upon a carpet; mats being spread before him, for our reception. Djezzar had dispatched couriers to the aghas and sheiks in all places where we were instructed to halt, that

provisions might be ready, as for himself, when we arrived. Without this precaution, a large party would be in danger of starving. The peasants of the country are woefully oppressed; and what little they have, would be carefully concealed, unless extorted from them by the iron rod of such a tyrant as Djezzar. Judging by the appearance our supper presented, a stranger might have fancied himself in a land of abundance. They brought boiled chickens, eggs, boiled rice, and bread; this last article, being made into thin cakes, is either dried in the sun, or baked upon hot stones. They prepare it fresh for every meal. Wine, as a forbidden beverage, was not offered to us. We supped upon the roof, as we sat; and were somewhat surprised in being told we were to sleep there also. This the agha said would be necessary, in order to avoid the fleas; but they swarmed in sufficient number to keep the whole party sleepless, and quite in torment, during the few hours we allotted to a vain expectation of repose. The lapse of a century has not effected the smallest change in the manners of the inhabitants of this country, as appears by the accounts earlier travellers have given of the accommodations they obtained.

'At three o'clock we roused all the party, and were on horseback a little before four. We could discern the town of Acre, and the Romulus frigate at anchor, very distinctly from this place. After leaving Shefhamer, the mountainous territory begins, and the road winds among valleys covered with beautiful trees. Passing these hills, we entered that part of Galilee which belonged to the tribe of Zabulon; whence, according to the triumphal song of Deborah and Barak, issued to the battle against Sisera, "*they that handled the pen of the writer.*" The scenery is, to the full, as delightful as in the rich vales upon the south of the Crimea; it reminded us of the finest parts of Kent and Surrey. The soil, although stony, is exceedingly rich, but now entirely neglected. As we proceeded across this plain, a castle, once the acropolis of the city of Sapphura, appeared upon a hill, distant from Shefhamer about seven miles. Its name is still preserved, in the appellation of a miserable village, called *Sephoury.* An ancient aqueduct, which conveyed water to the city, now serves

to supply several small mills. We were told, that the French had been quartered in all these villages; that their conduct had rendered the name of a Frenchman, once odious, very popular among the Arabs; that they paid punctually for every thing they required; and left behind them notions, concerning the despotic tyranny of the Turks, which the government of that country will not find it easy to eradicate. We ascended the hill to the village; and found the sun's rays even at this early hour of the morning, almost insupportable. If we had not adopted the precaution of carrying umbrellas, it would have been impossible to continue the journey. The *cactus ficus-indicus*, or prickly pear, which grows to a prodigious size in the Holy Land, as in Egypt, where it is used as a fence for the hedges of inclosures, sprouted luxuriantly among the rocks, displaying its gaudy yellow blossoms, amidst thorns, defying all human approach. We afterwards saw this plant, with a stem, or trunk, as large as the main-mast of a frigate. It produces a delicious cooling fruit, which becomes ripe towards the end of July, and is then sold in all the markets of the country.

'Sapphura, or Sepphoris, now *Sephoury*, was once the chief city and bulwark of Galilee. The remains of its fortifications exhibited to us an existing work of Herod, who, after its destruction by Varus, not only rebuilt and fortified it, but made it the chief city of his tetrarchy. Here was held one of the five Sanhedrims of Judea. Its inhabitants often revolted against the Romans. It was so advantageously situated for defence, that it was deemed impregnable. In later ages, it bore the name of *Diocæsarea*. Josephus relates, that the inhabitants of *Sepphoris* amicably entreated Vespasian, when he arrived in Ptolemais. Harduin commemorates medals of the city, coined afterwards, under the Romans, in the reigns of Domitian and of Trajan. We were not fortunate in our search for medals, either here or in any other part of the Holy Land; and, speaking generally of the country, these antiquities are so exceedingly rare, that the peasants seemed unacquainted with the objects of our inquiry. This was not the case among the Arabs in Egypt, nor in any part of Greece.

When we arrived in the village, we were invited to visit *the House of St. Anne.* The proposal surprised us, coming from persons in the Arab dress; but we afterwards found that the inhabitants of Galilee, and of the Holy Land in general, are as often Christians as they are Mahometans; indeed they sometimes consider themselves equally followers of Mahomet and of Christ. The Druses, concerning whom, notwithstanding the detailed account published by Niebuhr and by Volney, we have never received due historical information, worship Jonas, the prophets, and Mahomet. They have also pagan rites; and some among them certainly offer their highest adoration to a calf. Cana of Galilee is tenanted by Greeks only; so is the town of Tiberias. In Jerusalem there are sects of every denomination, and, perhaps, of almost every religion upon earth. As to those who call themselves Christians, in opposition to the Moslems, we found them divided into sects, with whose distinctions we were often unacquainted. It is said there are no Lutherans; and if we add, that, under the name of Christianity, every degrading superstition and profane rite, equally remote from the enlightened tenets of the gospel, and the dignity of human nature, are professed and tolerated, we shall afford a true picture of the state of society in this country.

'*The House of St. Anne*, at Sephoury, presented us with the commencement of that superstitious trumpery, which, for a long time, has constituted the chief object of devotion and of pilgrimage in the Holy Land, and of which we had afterwards instances without number. A tradition prevails that St. Joachim and the mother of the Virgin Mary resided in this place: accordingly, some pious agent of Constantine the First erected over the spot where the monks fancied their house had stood, or, what is more likely, over what they vouched for being the house itself, a most magnificent church. The remains of this sanctuary were what we had been invited to see; and these now bear the name of the house I have mentioned. The visit was, however, attended by circumstances which may possibly interest the reader more than the cause of it will induce him to imagine.'

Dr. Clarke and his companions were conducted to the ruins of a stately Gothic edifice, and amongst the fragments of the original decorations they were surprized to notice an ancient painting upon wood. The Arab who attended them produced two other pictures of the same kind which had escaped the notice of the Moslems, who always destroy every pictured representation of the human form. Our traveller thinks that these paintings must at least be as old as the destruction of the city, which he refers to the middle of the fourth century.

Dr. Clarke proceeds, "About half way between Sephoury and Nazareth, as we ascended a hill, two very singular figures met us on horseback, exciting no inconsiderable mirth among the English members of our caravan, in spite of all their endeavours to suppress it. These were the worthy superiors of the Franciscan monastery in Nazareth; two meagre little men, in long black cassocks, having hats upon their heads of the size of an ordinary umbrella. It is impossible to give an idea of the ludicrous appearance they made, sitting beneath these enormous hats, with their knees quite up to their chins, as they descended the hill towards us. They had been informed of our approach by a party of Arabs, who had proceeded by a different road, with our camels of burthen, and were therefore kindly coming to meet us. They soon converted our mirth into gravity, by informing us, that the plague raged, with considerable fury, both in their convent, and in the town; but as the principal danger was said to be in the convent, our curiosity superseded all apprehension, and we resolved to pass the night in one of the houses of the place. These monks informed us, that, provided we were cautious in avoiding contact with suspected persons, we might safely venture: we therefore began, by keeping *them* at such a distance as might prevent any communication of the disorder from their persons. The younger of the two, perceiving this, observed, that when we had been longer in the country, we should lay aside our fears, and perhaps fall into the opposite extreme, by becoming too indifferent as to the chance of contagion. They said they visited the sick from the moment of their being attacked; received them into their convent; and ad-

ministered to their necessities; always carefully abstaining from the touch of their diseased patients. The force of imagination is said to have great influence, either in avoiding or in contracting this disorder; those who give way to any great degree of alarm being the most liable to its attack; while predestinarian Moslems, armed with a powerful faith that nothing can accelerate or retard the fixed decrees of Providence, pass unhurt through the midst of contagion. Certainly, the danger is not so great as it is generally believed to be. The rumour prevalent in the neighbourhood of Asiatic towns, where the plague exists, of the number carried off by the disorder is always false; and this gaining strength, as it proceeds to any distance, causes the accounts which are published in the gazettes of Europe, of whole cities being thereby depopulated. The towns of the Holy Land are, it is true, often emptied of their inhabitants, who retire in tents to the environs when the plague is rife; but they quickly return again to their habitations, when the alarm subsides. A traveller in these countries will do well to be mindful of this; because were he to halt or turn back upon the event of every rumour of this nature, he would soon find his journey altogether impracticable. We had reason to regret that we were thus prevented from visiting Baffa in the isle of Cyprus. In a subsequent part of our travels, we were often liable to exaggerated reports concerning the plague. They are something like the stories of banditti, in many European mountains inhabited by a race of shepherds as harmless as the flocks they tend. The case is certainly somewhat different in Asia, especially in the Holy Land, where banditti are no insubstantial phantoms, that vanish whenever they are approached. The traveller in this country must pass "the tents of Kedar, and the hills of the robbers." So it is concerning the plague; he will sometimes find the reality, although it be inadequate to the rumour. We visited several places where the inhabitants were said to die by hundreds in a day; but not an individual of our party, which was often numerous, experienced in any degree the consequences of contagion. The French, from their extreme carelessness, were often attacked by it, and as often cured.

The members of the medical staff, belonging to their army in Egypt, seemed to consider it as a malignant, and therefore dangerous fever; but, with proper precaution, by no means fatal.

'The rest of this short journey, like the preceding part of it, was over sterile limestone, principally ascending until we entered a narrow defile between the hills. This, suddenly opening towards our right, presented us with a view of the small town or village of Nazareth, situated upon the side of a barren rocky elevation, facing the east, and commanding a long valley. Throughout the dominion of Djezzar pacha, there was no place that suffered more from his tyrannical government than Nazareth. Its inhabitants, unable to sustain the burthens imposed upon them, were continually emigrating to other territories. The few who remained were soon to be stripped of their possessions; and when no longer able to pay the tribute exacted from them, no alternative remained, but that of going to Acre to work in his fortifications, or to flee their country. The town was in the most wretched state of indigence and misery; the soil around it might bid defiance to agriculture; and to the prospect of starvation were added the horrors of the plague. Thus it seemed destined to maintain its ancient reputation; for the Nathanael of his day might have inquired of a native of Bethsaida, whether "any good thing could come out of Nazareth?" A party of Djezzar's troops, encamped in tents about the place, were waiting to seize even the semblance of a harvest which could be collected from all the neighbouring district. In the valley, appeared one of those fountains, which, from time immemorial, have been the halting-place of caravans, and sometimes the scene of contention and bloodshed. The women of Nazareth were passing to and from the town, with pitchers upon their heads. We stopped to view the groupe of camels, with their drivers, who were there reposing, and, calling to mind the manners of the most remote ages, we renewed the solicitation of Abraham's servant unto Rebecca, by the well of Nahor. In the writings of early pilgrims and travellers, this spring is denominated "the fountain of the Virgin Mary;" and certainly, if there be a spot,

throughout the Holy Land, that was undoubtedly honoured by her presence, we may consider this to have been the place; because the situation of a copious spring is not liable to change; and because the custom of repairing thither to draw water has been continued, among the female inhabitants of Nazareth, from the earliest period of its history.

'After leaving this fountain, we ascended to the town, and were conducted to the house of the principal Christian inhabitant of Nazareth. The tremendous name of Djezzar had succeeded in providing for us, in the midst of poverty, more sumptuous fare than is often found in wealthier cities; the convent had largely contributed; but we had reason to fear, that many poor families had been pinched to supply our board. All we could do, therefore, as it was brought with cheerfulness, was to receive it thankfully; and we took especial care that those from whom we obtained it should not go unrewarded.

'The convent of Nazareth, situated in the lower part of the village, contains about fourteen friars, of the Franciscan order. Its church (erected, as they relate, over the cave wherein the Virgin Mary is supposed to have resided) is a handsome edifice; but it is degraded, as a sanctuary, by absurdities too contemptible for notice, if the description of them did not offer an instructive lesson shewing the abject state to which the human mind may be reduced by superstition. So powerful is still its influence in this country, that at the time of our visit, the Franciscan friars belonging to the convent had been compelled to surround their altars with an additional fencing, in order to prevent persons infected with the plague from seeking a miraculous cure, by rubbing their bodies with the hangings of the sanctuary, and thus communicating infection to the whole town; because, all who entered saluted these hangings with their lips. Many of those unhappy patients believed themselves secure, from the moment they were brought within the walls of this building, although in the last stage of the disorder. As we passed towards the church, one of the friars, rapidly conducting us, pointed to invalids who had recently exhibited marks of the infection; these were then sitting upon the bare earth, in cells, around the court-

yard of the convent, waiting a miraculous recovery. The sight of these persons so near to us rather checked our curiosity; but it was too late to render ourselves more secure by retreating. We had been told, that, if we chose to venture into the church, the doors of the convent would be opened; and therefore had determined to risk a little danger, rather than be disappointed; particularly as it was said the sick were kept apart, in a place expressly allotted to them. We now began to be sensible we had acted without sufficient caution; and it is well we had no reason afterwards to repent of our imprudence.

'Having entered the church, the friars put lighted wax tapers into our hands, and, charging us on no account to touch any thing, led the way, muttering their prayers. We descended, by a flight of steps, into the cave before mentioned; entering it by means of a small door, behind an altar laden with pictures, wax candles, and all sorts of superstitious trumpery. They pointed out to us what they called the kitchen and fire-place of the Virgin Mary. As all these sanctified places, in the Holy Land, have some supposed miracle to exhibit, the monks of Nazareth have taken care not to be without their share in supernatural rarities; accordingly, the first things they shew to strangers descending into this cave, are two stone pillars in front of it; one whereof, separated from its base, is said to sustain its capital and part of its shaft miraculously in the air. The fact is, that the capital and a piece of the shaft of a pillar of grey granite has been fastened on to the roof of the cave; and so clumsily is the rest of the *hocus pocus* contrived, that what is shewn for the lower fragment of the same pillar resting upon the earth, is not of the same substance, but of Cipolino marble. About this pillar a different story has been related to almost every traveller since the trick was first devised. We were assured that it separated in this manner when the angel announced to the Virgin the tidings of her conception. The monks had placed a rail, to prevent persons infected with the plague from coming to rub against these pillars: this had been, for a great number of years, their constant practice, whenever afflicted with any

sickness. The reputation of the broken pillar, for healing every kind of disease, prevails all over Galilee.

'The other objects of veneration in Nazareth, at every one of which indulgences are sold to travellers, are, I. The workshop of Joseph, which is near the convent, and was formerly included within its walls; this is now a small chapel, perfectly modern, and lately whitewashed. II. The synagogue, where Christ is said to have read the scriptures to the Jews, at present a church. III. A precipice without the town, where they say the Messiah leaped down, to escape the rage of the Jews, after the offence his speech in the synagogue had occasioned. Here they shew the impression of his hand, made as he sprang from the rock. From the description given by St. Luke, the monks affirm, that, anciently, Nazareth stood eastward of its present situation, upon a more elevated spot. The words of the evangelist are, however, remarkably explicit, and prove the situation of the ancient city to have been precisely that which is now occupied by the modern town. Induced, by the words of the gospel, to examine the place more attentively than we should otherwise have done, we went, as it is written, "*out of the city, unto the brow of the hill whereon the city is built*," and came to a precipice corresponding with the words of the evangelist. It is above the Maronite church, and probably the precise spot alluded to by the text of St. Luke's gospel.

'But because the monks and friars, who are most interested in such discoveries, have not found within the gospels a sufficient number of references to Nazareth, whereupon they might erect shops for the sale of their indulgences, they have actually taken the liberty to add to the writings of the evangelists, by making them vouch for a number of absurdities, concerning which not a syllable occurs within their records. It were an endless task to enumerate all these. One celebrated relique may however be mentioned; because there is not the slightest notice of any such thing in the New Testament; and because his holiness the pope has not scrupled to vouch for its authenticity, as well as to grant very plenary indulgence to those pilgrims who visit the place where it is exhibited. This is nothing more than a large stone, on which they affirm that

Christ did eat with his disciples, both before and after his resurrection. They have built a chapel over it; and upon the walls of this building, several copies of a printed certificate, asserting its title to reverence, are affixed.

'As we passed through the streets, loud screams, as of a person frantic with rage and grief, drew our attention towards a miserable hovel, whence we perceived a woman issuing hastily, with a cradle, containing an infant. Having placed the child upon the area before her dwelling, she as quickly ran back again; we then perceived her beating something violently, all the while filling the air with the most piercing shrieks. Running to see what was the cause of her cries, we observed an enormous serpent, which she had found near her infant, and had completely dispatched before our arrival. Never were maternal feelings more strikingly pourtrayed than in the countenance of this woman. Not satisfied with having killed the animal, she continued her blows until she had reduced it to atoms, unheeding any thing that was said to her, and only abstracting her attention from its mangled body to cast occasionally, a wild and momentary glance towards her child.

'In the evening we visited the environs, and, walking to the brow of a hill above the town, were gratified by an interesting prospect of the long valley of Nazareth, and some hills between which a road leads to the neighbouring plain of Esdraelon, and to Jerusalem. Some of the Arabs came to converse with us. We were surprised to hear them speaking Italian; they said they had been early instructed in this language, by the friars of the convent. Their conversation was full of complaints against the rapacious tyranny of their governors. One of them said, "Beggars in England are happier and better than we poor Arabs." "*Why better?*" said one of our party. "*Happier*," replied the Arab who had made the observation, "*in a good government: better, because they will not endure a bad one.*"

'The second night after our arrival, as soon as it grew dark, we all stretched ourselves upon the floor of our apartment, not without serious alarm of catching the plague, but tempted by the hope of obtaining a little repose. This we

had found impracticable the night before, in consequence of the vermin. The hope was, however, vain; not one of our party could close his eyes. Every instant it was necessary to rise, and endeavour to shake off the noxious animals with which our bodies were covered. In addition to this penance, we were serenaded, until four o'clock in the morning, the hour we had fixed for our departure, by the constant ringing of a chapel bell, as a charm against the plague; by the barking of dogs; braying of asses; howling of jackals; and by the squalling of children.

'After a sleepless night, rising more fatigued than when we retired to rest, and deeming a toilsome journey preferable to the suffering state we had all endured, we left Nazareth at five o'clock on Sunday morning, July the sixth, our intention being to complete the tour of Galilee, and to visit the lake of Gennesareth.

'We entered Cana, and halted at a small Greek chapel, in the court of which we all rested, while our breakfast was spread upon the ground. This grateful meal consisted of about a bushel of cucumbers, some white mulberries, a very insipid fruit, gathered from the trees reared to feed silk-worms; hot cakes of unleavened bread, fried in honey and butter; and, as usual, plenty of fowls. We had no reason to complain of our fare, and all of us ate heartily. We were afterwards conducted into the chapel, in order to see the reliques and sacred vestments there preserved. When the poor priest exhibited these, he wept over them with so much sincerity, and lamented the indignities to which the holy places were exposed in terms so affecting, that all our pilgrims wept also. Such were the tears which formerly excited the sympathy, and roused the valour of the crusaders. The sailors of our party caught the kindling zeal; and little more was necessary to incite in them a hostile disposition towards every Saracen they might afterwards encounter.

'About three miles beyond Cana we passed the village of *Turan:* near this place they pretend to shew the field where the disciples of Jesus Christ plucked the ears of corn upon the sabbath-day. The Italian catholics have named it the field

"*degli Setti Spini*," and gather the bearded wheat, which is annually growing there, as a part of the collection of reliques wherewith they return burthened to their own country. The heat of this day was greater than any to which we had yet been exposed in the Levant; nor did we afterwards experience any thing so powerful. Captain Culverhouse had the misfortune to break his umbrella;—a frivolous event in milder latitudes, but here of so much importance, that all hopes of continuing our journey depended upon its being repaired. Fortunately, beneath some rocks, over which we were then passing, there were caverns, excavated by primeval shepherds, as a shelter from scorching beams, capable of baking bread, and actually of dressing meat: into these caves we crept, not only for the purpose of restoring the umbrella, but also to profit by the opportunity thus offered of unpacking our thermometers, and ascertaining the temperature of the atmosphere. It was now twelve o'clock. The mercury, in a gloomy recess under ground, perfectly shaded, while the scale was placed so as not to touch the rock, remained at one hundred degrees of Fahrenheit. As to making any observation in the sun's rays, it was impossible; no one of the party had courage to wait with the thermometer a single minute in such a situation.

'After we had passed Turan, a small plantation of olives afforded us a temporary shelter; and without this, the heat was greater than we could have endured. Having rested an hour, taking coffee and smoking as usual with the Arabs of our party, we continued our journey. The earth was covered with such a variety of thistles, that a complete collection of them would be a valuable acquisition in botany. As we advanced, our journey led through an open campaign country, until, upon our right, the guides shewed us the mount where it is believed that Christ preached to his disciples that memorable sermon, concentrating the sum and substance of every Christian virtue. We left our route to visit this elevated spot; and having attained the highest point of it, a view was presented, which, for its grandeur, independently of the interest excited by the different objects contained in it, has no parallel in the Holy Land.

'By a steep, devious, and difficult track, following our horses on foot, we descended from this place to the village of *Hatti*, situated at one extremity of a cultivated plain. Here, having collected the stragglers of our party into a large plantation of lime and lemon trees, we were regaled by the Arabs with all their country afforded. Having spread mats for us beneath the shade which the trees afforded, they came and seated themselves among us, gazing, with very natural surprize, at their strange guests. Some of these Arabs were Druses.

'As we rode from this village towards the sea of Tiberias, the guides pointed to a sloping spot from the heights upon our right, whence we had descended, as the place where the miracle was accomplished by which our Saviour fed the multitude; it is therefore called *The Multiplication of Bread;* as the mount above, where the sermon was preached to his disciples, is called *The Mountain of Beatitudes*, from the expressions used in the beginning of that discourse. This part of the Holy Land is very full of wild animals. Antelopes are in great number. We had the pleasure of seeing these beautiful quadrupeds in their natural state, feeding among the thistles and tall herbage of these plains, and bounding before us occasionally, as we disturbed them. The Arabs frequently take them in the chace. The lake now continued in view upon our left. The wind rendered its surface rough, and called to mind the situation of our Saviour's disciples, when, in one of the small vessels which traverse these waters, they were tossed in a storm, and saw Jesus, in the fourth watch of the night, walking to them upon the waves.

'Near the town of Tiberias are some buildings erected over the warm mineral baths of *Emmaus*, and on the northern shores of the lake, through a bold declivity our travellers beheld the situation of Capernaum. Here they were regaled with fried fish, a species of mullet which, according to tradition, was the favourite food of Jesus Christ. The doctor proceeds:—

'We were on horseback by six o'clock, on Monday morning, July the sixth, notwithstanding our excursion, and continued our route. Leaving Tiberias, we took a different road from that by which we came, and crossed an extensive valley, hoping

to visit Mount Thabôr. In this valley, three hundred French cavalry defeated an army of ten thousand Turks; an event so astonishing, even to the Turks themselves, that they considered the victory as obtained by magic; an art which they believe many of the Franks to possess.

'All the pleasure of travelling, at this season of the year, in the Holy Land, is suspended by the excessive heat of the sun. A traveller, wearied and spiritless, is often more subdued at the beginning than at the end of his day's journey. Many rare plants and curious minerals invite his notice, as he passes slowly along, with depressed looks fixed upon the ground; but these it is impossible for him to obtain. It appears to him to be an act of unjustifiable cruelty to ask a servant, or even one of the attending Arabs, to descend from his horse, for the purpose of collecting either the one or the other. All nature seems to droop; every animal seeks for shade, which it is extremely difficult to find. But the cameleon, the lizard, the serpent, and all sorts of beetles, basking, even at noon, upon rocks and in sandy places, exposed to the most scorching rays, seem to rejoice in the greatest heat wherein it is possible to exist.

'After three hours, walking our horses, we arrived at a poor village, called Lûbi, situated upon the brow of a range of hills, which bound the valley before mentioned, towards the south. During our ride, we had suffered apprehensions from the tribes of Arabs under arms, who were occasionally seen, descending and scouring the opposite hills, as we crossed the valley. We could plainly discern them, by means of our glasses, reconnoitering us from the summits of those hills. They were described at Lûbi as collected in great force upon Mount Thabôr; so that our visit to that mountain became impracticable: the guard whom Djezzar had sent with us would not venture thither. Our travellers being compelled to alter the plan of their journey, returned towards Nazareth.

'When our author and his party had arrived at the encampment of Djezzar on the great plain, or field of Meggido, they were kindly received by the general, but much oppressed by the wind of the desert

'The next morning, Tuesday, July the seventh, we were refused camels to carry our luggage, by the people of Nazareth; upon the plea, that the Arabs would attack us, and seize the camels, in return for the cattle which Djezzar had taken from them. Asses were at length allowed, and we began our journey at seven o'clock. Every one of our party was eager to be the first who should get out of Nazareth; for although we had pitched a tent upon the roof of the house where we passed the night, it had been, as usual, a night of penance, rather than of rest: so infested with vermin was every part of the building. The author accompanied by a servant, set out on foot, leaving the rest of his companions to follow on horseback. Having inquired of an Arab belonging to Djezzar's guard the shortest road into the plain of Esdraelon, this man, who had lived with Bedouins, and bore all the appearance of belonging to one of their roving tribes, gave false information. In consequence of this, we entered a defile in the mountains, which separates the plain of Esdraelon from the valley of Nazareth, and found that our party had pursued a different route. Presently messengers, sent by captain Culverhouse, came to us with this intelligence. The rebel Arabs were then stationed at a village, within two miles distance, in the plain; so that we very narrowly escaped falling into their hands. It seemed almost evident that the Arab, whose false information as to the route had been the original cause of this deviation, intended to mislead, and that he would have joined the rebels as soon as his plan had succeeded. The messengers recommended, as the speediest mode of joining our party, that we should ascend the mountainous ridge which flanks all the plain towards Nazareth. In doing this, we actually encountered some of the scouts belonging to the insurgents; they passed us on horseback, armed with long lances, but offered us no molestation. As soon as we had gained the heights, we beheld our companions collected in a body, at a great distance below in the plain; easily recognising our English friends by their umbrellas. After clambering among the rocks, we accomplished a descent towards the spot where they were assembled, and, reaching the plain, found

captain Culverhouse busied in surveying with his glass about three hundred of the rebels, stationed in a village near the mouth of the defile, by which we had previously proceeded. It was at this unlucky moment, while the party were deliberating whether to advance or to retreat, that the author, unable to restrain the impulse of his feelings, most imprudently punished the Arab who had caused the delay, by striking him. It is impossible to describe the confusion thus occasioned. The Mahometans, to a man, maintained that the infidel who had lifted his hand against one of the faithful should atone for the sacrilegious insult by his blood. The Arab recovered from the shock he had sustained, sought only to gratify his anger by the death of his assailant. Having speedily charged his carbine, although trembling with rage to such a degree that his whole frame appeared agitated, he very deliberately pointed it at the object of his revenge, who escaped assassination by dodging beneath the horses, as often as the muzzel of the piece was directed towards him. Finding himself thus frustrated in his intentions, his fury became ungovernable. His features, livid and convulsed, seemed to denote madness: no longer knowing what he did, he levelled his carbine at the captain of Djezzar's guard, and aferwards at his dragoman signior Bertocino, who, with captain Culverhouse, and the rest of us, by this time had surrounded him, and endeavoured to wrest it from him. The fidelity of the officers of the guard, added to the firmness and intrepidity of captain Culverhouse and of signior Bertocino, saved the lives of every Christian then present. Most of our party, destitute of arms, and encumbered by baggage, were wholly unprepared either for attack or defence; and every individual of our Mahometan escort was waiting to assist in a general massacre of all the Englishmen, as soon as the affront offered to a Mahometan had been atoned by the death of the offender. Captain Culverhouse, by a violent effort, succeeded in wresting the loaded carbine from the hands of the infuriate Arab; and signor Bertocino, in the same instant, with equal intrepidity and presence of mind, galloping among the rest of them, brandished his drawn sabre over their heads, and threatened to cut down the first person

who should betray the slightest symptom of mutiny. The captain of Djezzar's guard then secured the trembling culprit, and it was with the greatest difficulty we could prevent him from putting this man to death. The rest of them, now awed into submission, would gladly have consented to such a sacrifice, upon the condition of our concealing their conduct from Djezzar, when we returned to Acre. These men afterwards confessed, that if any blood had been shed, it was their intention to desert, and to have joined the rebel army.

'Here on this plain, the most fertile part of all the land of Canaan, which, though a solitude, we found like one vast meadow, covered with the richest pasture,) the tribe of Issachar "rejoiced in their tents." In the first ages of Jewish history, as well as during the Roman empire, the crusades, and even in later times, it has been the scene of many a memorable contest. Here it was that Barak, descending with his ten thousand from Mount Thabôr, discomfited Sisera and "and all his chariots, even nine hundred chariots of iron, and all the people that were with him," gathered "from Harosheth of the Gentiles, unto the river of Kishon;" when "all the host of Sisera fell upon the edge of the sword; and there was not a man left;" when "the kings came and fought, the kings of Canaan in *Taanach*, by the waters of *Meggido*." Here also it was, that Josiah, king of Judah, fought in disguise against Necho, king of Egypt, and fell by the arrows of his antagonist. So great were the lamentations for his death, that the mourning for Josiah became "an ordinance in Israel." The "great mourning in Jerusalem," foretold by Zechariah, is said to be as the lamentations in the plain of Esdraelon, or, according to the language of the prophet, "as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the *Valley of Meggidon*." Josephus often mentions this very remarkable part of the Holy Land, and always under the appellation of "*The Great Plain*." The supplies that Vespasian sent to the people of Sepphoris, are said to have been reviewed in the great plain, prior to their distribution into two divisions; the infantry being quartered within the city, and the cavalry encamped upon the plain. Under the same name it is also mentioned by Eusebius, and

by St. Jerome. It has been a chosen place for encampment in every contest carried on in this country, from the days of Nabuchodonosor, king of the Assyrians, (in the history of whose war with Arphaxed, it is mentioned as *the great Plain of Esdraelon*,) until the disastrous march of Napoleon Bonaparte from Egypt into Syria. Jews, Gentiles, Saracens, Christian crusaders, and anti-Christian Frenchmen, Egyptians, Persians, Druses, Turks, and Arabs, warriors out of "every nation which is under heaven," have pitched their tents upon the plain of Esdraelon, and have beheld the various banners of their nations wet with the dews of Thabôr and of Hermon.

'Being provided with an addition to our escort of ten well-mounted and well accoutred Arabs in the service of Djezzar, we took leave of the general at three o'clock P. M. and, having mounted our horses, continued our journey across the plain, towards Jennin.'

From thence they proceeded to the ancient Sichem, where are the sepulchres of the patriarchs, and the well of Joseph. 'We left this place,' says our traveller, 'one hour after midnight, that we might reach Jerusalem early the same day. We were, however, much deceived concerning the distance. Our guides represented the journey as a short excursion of five hours: it proved a most fatiguing pilgrimage of eighteen. The road was mountainous, rocky, and full of loose stones: yet the cultivation was every where marvellous; it afforded one of the most striking pictures of human industry which it is possible to behold. The limestone rocks and stony valleys of Judea were entirely covered with plantations of figs, vines, and olive-trees; not a single spot seemed to be neglected. The hills, from their bases to their upmost summits, were entirely covered with gardens: all of these were free from weeds, and in the highest state of agricultural perfection. Even the sides of the most barren mountains had been rendered fertile, by being divided into terraces, like steps rising one above another, whereon soil had been accumulated with astonishing labour. Among the standing crops, we noticed millet, cotton, linseed, and tobacco; and occasionally small fields of barley. A sight of this territory can alone convey

any adequate idea of its surprising produce: it is truly the Eden of the East, rejoicing in the abundance of its wealth. The effect of this upon the people was strikingly pourtrayed in every countenance: instead of the depressed and gloomy looks of Djezzar pacha's desolated plains, health, hilarity, and peace, were visible in the features of the inhabitants. Under a wise and a beneficent government, the produce of the Holy Land would exceed all calculation. Its perennial harvest; the salubrity of its air; its limpid springs; its rivers, lakes, and matchless plains; its hills and vales;—all these added to the serenity of its climate, prove this land to be indeed "a field which the Lord hath blessed: God hath given it of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine."

'The first part of our journey led through the valley lying between the two mountains Ebal and Gerizim. We passed the sepulchre of Joseph, and the well of Jacob, where the valley of Sichem opens into a fruitful plain, watered by a stream which rises near the town. This is allowed, by all writers to be the piece of land mentioned by St. John, which Jacob bought "at the hand of the children of Emmor," and where he erected his altar to "the God of Israel." We passed, without notice, a place called *Leban* by Maundrell, the *Lebonah* of scripture: also, about six hours distance from Napolose, in a narrow valley, between two high rocky hills, the ruins of a village, and of a monastery, situated where the *Bethel* of Jacob is supposed to have been. The nature of the soil is an existing comment upon the record of the *stony territory*, where "*he took of the stones of the place, and put them for his pillows.*" At two o'clock P. M. we halted for a little repose, near a well, beneath the shade of a ruined building. This place was said to be three hours distance from Jerusalem. It is perhaps the same described by Maundrell, under the name of *Beer;* so called, says he, from its *fountain of water*, and supposed to be the *Michmash* of sacred scripture. It is described by him as distant three hours and twenty minutes from the holy city. This name of our halting-place is not found, however, in any of our journals. Here, upon some

pieces of very mouldy biscuit, a few raw onions, (the only food we could find upon the spot,) and the water of the well, we all of us fed with the best possible appetite; and could we have procured a little salt, we should have deemed our fare delicious.

'At three P. M. we again mounted our horses, and proceeded on our route. No sensation of fatigue or heat could counterbalance the eagerness and zeal which animated all our party, in the approach to Jerusalem; every individual pressed forward, hoping first to announce the joyful intelligence of its appearance. We passed some insignificant ruins, either of ancient buildings or of modern villages: but had they been of more importance, they would have excited little notice at the time, so earnestly bent was every mind towards the main object of interest and curiosity. At length, after about two hours had been passed in this state of anxiety and suspense, ascending a hill towards the south—"HAGIOPOLIS!" exclaimed a Greek in the van of our cavalcade; and instantly throwing himself from his horse, was seen bareheaded, upon his knees, facing the prospect he surveyed. Suddenly the sight burst upon us all. Who shall describe it? The effect produced was that of total silence throughout the whole company. Many of the party, by an immediate impulse, took off their hats, as if entering a church, without being sensible of so doing. The Greeks and catholics shed torrents of tears; and presently beginning to cross themselves, with unfeigned devotion, asked if they might be permitted to take off the covering from their feet, and proceed, barefooted, to the holy sepulchre. We had not been prepared for the grandeur of the spectacle which the city alone exhibited. Instead of a wretched and ruined town, by some described as the desolated remnant of Jerusalem, we beheld, as it were, a flourishing and stately metropolis, presenting a magnificent assemblage of domes, towers, palaces, churches, and monasteries; all of which, glittering in the sun's rays, shone with inconceivable splendor. As we drew nearer, our whole attention was engrossed by its noble and interesting appearance. The lofty hills whereby it is surrounded give to the city itself an appearance of elevation

inferior to that which it really possesses. About three quarters of an hour before we reached the walls, we passed a large ruin upon our right hand, close to the road. This, by the reticulated style of masonry upon its walls, as well as by the remains of its vaulted foundations of brick-work, evidently denoted a Roman building. We could not obtain any account of it; neither is it mentioned by the authors who have described the antiquities of the country.

'At this place, two Turkish officers, mounted on beautiful horses sumptuously caparisoned, came to inform us, that the governor, having intelligence of our approach, had sent them to escort us into the town. When they arrived, we were all assembled upon an eminence, admiring the splendid appearance of the city; and being impressed with other ideas than those of a vain ostentation, would gladly have declined the parade, together with the interruption caused by a public entry. This was, however, said to be unavoidable; it was described as a necessary mark of respect due to Djezzar pacha, under whose protection we travelled; as well as of consequence to our future safety. We therefore consigned ourselves to all the etiquette of our Mahometan masters of ceremony, and were marshalled accordingly. Our attendants were ordered to fall back in the rear; and it was evident, by the manner of placing us, that we were expected to form a procession to the governor's house, and to appear as dependants, swelling the train of our Moslem conductors. Our British tars, not relishing this, would now and then prance towards the post of honour, and were with difficulty restrained from taking the lead. As we approached the city, the concourse of people became very great, the walls and the road side being covered with spectators. An immense multitude, at the same time, accompanied us on foot; some of whom, welcoming the procession with compliments and caresses, cried out "*Bon' Inglesi! Viva l'Ingilterra!*" others, cursing and reviling, called us a set of rascally Christian dogs, and filthy infidels. We could never learn wherefore so much curiosity had been excited; unless it were, that of late, owing to the turbulent state of public affairs, the resort of strangers to Jerusalem had become more uncommon; or that they expected

another visit from sir Sidney Smith, who had marched into Jerusalem with colours flying and drums beating, at the head of a party of English sailors. He protected the Christian guardians of the holy sepulchre from the tyranny of their Turkish rulers, by hoisting the British standard upon the walls of their monastery.'

Dr. Clarke and his companions refused to believe those traditionary stories respecting the 'holy places,' which was contradictory to the evidence of their senses; yet he remarks, there is much to be seen at Jerusalem independently of its monks and monasteries.

'We were conducted,' says our traveller, 'to the house of the governor, who received us in very great state; offering his protection, and exhibiting the ordinary pomp of Turkish hospitality, in the number of slaves richly dressed, who brought fuming incense, coffee, conserved fruit, and pipes, to all the party, profusely sprinkling us as usual, with rose and orange-flowered water. Being then informed of all our projects, he ordered his interpreter to go with us to the Franciscan convent of St. Salvador, a large building like a fortress, the gates of which were thrown open to receive our whole cavalcade. Here, when we were admitted into a court, with all our horses and camels, the vast portals were again closed, and a party of the most corpulent friars we had ever seen from the warmest cloisters of Spain and of Italy waddled round us, and heartily welcomed our arrival.

'From the court of the convent we were next conducted, by a stone staircase, to the refectory, where the monks who had received us introduced us to the superior, not a whit less corpulent than any of his companions. In all the convents I had ever visited (and these are not few in number) I had never beheld such friars as the Franciscans of St. Salvador. The figures sometimes brought upon the stage, to burlesque the monasterial character, may convey some notion of their appearance.'

Here the travellers were regaled with coffee, tea, and the best *liqueurs*. The monks complained heavily of the exactions of the Turks, and of their extreme poverty; but Dr.

Clarke thinks that the fact of their being able to answer all demands, affords a proof of the wealth of the convent. In the morning a number of Armenians and Jews attended, offering for sale the only produce of the Jerusalem manufactures; beads, crosses, shells, &c. all of which after being purchased, are taken to the church of the holy sepulchre, where they receive a sort of benediction.

Dr. Clarke next visited the church of the holy sepulchre, which he says, is altogether such a work as might naturally be conjectured to arise from the infatuated superstition of such an old woman as Helena, subsequently enlarged by ignorant priests. Not a remnant of the original sepulchre can now be ascertained, 'yet,' he continues, 'with all our sceptical feelings thus awakened, it may prove how powerful the effect of sympathy is, if we confess that, when we entered into the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and beheld, by the light of lamps, there continually burning, the venerable figure of an aged monk, with streaming eyes, and a long white beard, pointing to the place "*where the body of our Lord was*," and calling upon us "to kneel and experience pardon for our sins"-----we knelt, and participated in the feelings of more credulous pilgrims. Captain Culverhouse, in whose mind the ideas of religion and of patriotism were inseparable, with firmer emotion, drew from its scabbard the sword he had so often wielded in the defence of his country, and placed it upon the tomb. Humbler comers heaped the memorials of an accomplished pilgrimage; and while their sighs alone interrupted the silence of the sanctuary, a solemn service was begun. Thus ended our visit to the sepulchre.'

If the mass of the holy places be disfigured by superstition, 'the mount of Olives,' says our traveller, 'undisguised by fanatical labours, exhibits the appearance it presented in all the periods of its history. From its elevated summit almost all the principal features of the city may be discerned, and the changes that eighteen centuries have wrought in its topography may perhaps be ascertained. The features of nature continue the same, though works of art have been done away: the beautiful gate of the temple is no more; but Siloa's fountain

haply flows, and Kedron sometimes murmurs in the valley of Jehosaphat.

'It was this resolve, and the determination of using our own eyes, instead of peering through the spectacles of priests, that led to the discovery of antiquities undescribed by any author: and marvellous it is, considering their magnitude, and the scrutinizing inquiry which has been so often directed to every object of the place, that these antiquities have hitherto escaped notice. It is possible that their position, and the tenor of their inscriptions, may serve to throw new light upon the situation of Sion, and the topography of the ancient city. We had been to examine the hill which now bears the name of Sion: it is situated upon the south side of Jerusalem, part of it being excluded by the wall of the present city, which passes over the top of the mount. If this be indeed mount Sion, the prophecy concerning it, that the plough should pass over it, has been fulfilled to the letter; for such labours were actually going on when we arrived. Here the Turks have a mosque over what they call the tomb of David. No Christian can gain admittance; and as we did not chuse to loiter among the other legendary sanctities of the mount, having quitted the city by what is called "Sion gate," we descended into a dingle or trench, called Tophet, or Gehinnon, by Sandys. As we reached the bottom of this narrow dale, sloping towards the valley of Jehosaphat, we observed, upon the sides of the opposite mountain, which appears to be the same called by Sandys the "Hill of Offence," facing mount Sion, a number of excavations in the rock, similar to the sort of sepulchres which had so much interested us in Asia Minor, and, alighting from our horses, found that we should have ample employment in their examination. They were all of the same kind of workmanship, exhibiting a series of subterranean chambers, hewn with marvellous art, each containing one, or many, repositories for the dead, like cisterns carved in the rock upon the sides of those chambers. The doors were so low, that, to look into any one of them, it was necessary *to stoop*, and, in some instances, to creep upon our hands and knees: these doors were also grooved, for the reception of immense stones,

once squared and fitted to the grooves, by way of closing the entrances. Of such a nature were, indisputably, the tombs of the sons of Heth, of the kings of Israel, of Lazarus, and of Christ. The cemeteries of the ancients were universally excluded from the precincts of their cities. In order, therefore, to account for the seeming contradiction implied by the situation of the place now shewn as the tomb of the Messiah, it is pretended that it was originally on the outside of the walls of Jerusalem, although a doubt must naturally arise as to the want of sufficient space for the population of the city, between a boundary so situated, and the hill which is now called mount Sion. The sepulchres we are describing carry, in their very nature, satisfactory evidence of their being situated out of the ancient city, as they are now out of the modern. They are not to be confounded with those tombs, commonly called "*the sepulchres of the kings*," to the north of Jerusalem, believed to be the burial-place of Helena, queen of Adiebéné. From all these circumstances, are we not authorized to seek here for the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea, who, as a pious Jew, necesarily had his burying-place in the cemetery of his countrymen, among the graves of his forefathers? The Jews were remarkable for their rigid adherence to this custom: they adorned their burial-places with trees and gardens: and the tomb of this Jew is accordingly described as being in a garden; and it was "*in the place where our Saviour was crucified.*" Of what nature was that place of crucifixion? It is very worthy of observation, that every one of the evangelists, (and among these, "he that saw it, and bare record,) affirm, that it was "*the place of a Scull;*" that is to say, a *public Cœmetery*, "called in the Hebrew, Golgotha;" without the city, and very near one of its gates. St. Luke calls it Calvary, which has the same signification. The church, supposed to mark the site of the holy sepulchre, exhibits no where the slightest evidence which might entitle it to either of these appellations.' Dr. Clarke pursues this subject at much length, and in which he displays considerable learning and ingenuity.

Standing on mount Olives, an interesting prospect opens to the observer. 'So commanding,' says our traveller, 'is the

view of Jerusalem afforded in this situation, that the eye roams over all the streets, and around the walls, as if in the survey of a plan or model of the city. The most conspicuous object is the mosque, erected upon the site and foundations of the temple of Solomon: this edifice may perhaps be considered as the finest specimen of Saracenic architecture which exists in the world.

'It was upon the mount of Olives that the Messiah delivered his prediction concerning the downfall of Jerusalem; and the army of Titus encamped upon the very spot where its destruction had been foretold. Not that, by the introduction of this fact, any allusion is here intended to the particular place shewn as "the rock of the prediction." The text of the evangelist proves that our Saviour, when he delivered the prophecy, was "*at the descent of the mount of Olives*," although in such a situation that "*he beheld the city, and wept over it.*" Whether the tenth legion of the Roman army was stationed upon the summit or side of the mountain, cannot now be ascertained; neither is the circumstance worth a moment's consideration.

'About forty years before the idolatrous profanation of the mount of Olives by Solomon, his afflicted parent, driven from Jerusalem by his son Absalom, came to this eminence to present a less offensive sacrifice. What a scene does the sublime, though simple, description given by the prophet picture to the imagination of every one who has felt the influence of filial piety, but especially of the traveller standing upon the very spot where the aged monarch gave to heaven the offering of his wounded spirit. "And David went up by the ascent of mount Olivet; and wept as he went up, and had his head covered; and all the people that *was* with him covered every man his head; and they went up weeping." Abstracted from every religious view, and considered solely as a subject for the most gifted genius in poetry or in painting, it is perhaps impossible to select a theme more worthy the exercise of exalted talents.

'The view of Jerusalem from this eminence is from east to west. Towards the south appears the lake Asphaltites, a noble expanse of water, seeming to be within a short ride from the city; but the real distance is much greater; and the journey

thither was at this time attended with such imminent danger from the Arabs that it was no longer attempted. Lofty mountains inclose it with prodigious grandeur, and resemble, by their position, the shores of the lake of Geneva, opposite to Vevay and Lausanne. To the north of the lake are seen the verdant and fertile pastures of the plain of Jericho, watered by the Jordan, whose course may be distinctly discerned. For the rest, nothing appears in the surrounding country but hills, whose undulating surfaces resemble the waves of a perturbed sea. These were bleak and destitute of wood, and seemed to be without cultivation. However, this cannot be ascertained by a distant view: we often found that mountains, which, when remote, appeared like naked rocks, were, when we drew near to them, covered with little terraces, like a series of steps, and abundantly productive. At a short distance from the summit, we were desired to notice the famous impression of a man's left foot in the rock, which has so long been shewn as that made by our Saviour at his ascension. Over this, Helena constructed one of her churches.

'As we descended from the mountain, we visited an olive-ground, always mentioned as the *Hortus Oliveti*, or Garden of Gethsemane. This place is, not without reason shewn as the scene of our Saviour's agony the night before his crucifixion, both from the circumstance of the name it still retains, and its situation with regard to the city.

'The rest of this day's journey was spent in viewing antiquities justly entitled to the highest consideration among the curiosities of Jerusalem,—the "*sepulchre of the Virgin Mary*," and the "*tombs of the patriarchs*:" all of these are in the valley between the mount of Olives and the city, on the eastern side of the torrent Kedron, at the foot of the mountain. After viewing these monuments, having now examined all the antiquities to the south and east of Jerusalem, we crossed the bed of the torrent Kedron by the bridge before mentioned: then, ascending to the city by a very steep hill, on which tradition relates that St. Stephen was stoned, we made the circuit of the walls upon the northern and western side, and, having found nothing remarkable, entered by the gate of Jaffa.

'The streets of Jerusalem are cleaner than those of any other town in the Levant; though, like all of them, they are very narrow. The houses are lofty; and, as no windows appear on any of the lower stories, and those above are latticed, the passage seems to be between blank walls. We visited the bazars, or shops, which are in a most unwholesome situation, being covered over, and, to all appearance, a nursery for every species of contagion. Hardly any thing was exposed for sale: the various articles of commerce were secreted, through fear of Turkish rapacity. Our inquiry after medals was not attended with any success; but an Armenian produced a very fine antique gem, a carnelian deeply *intagliated*, representing a beautiful female head decorated with a laurel chaplet. He asked a *piastre* for it, smiling at the same time, as if he thought it not worth a *para*. Upon being paid his demand, he threw down the gem, eagerly seizing the money, and burst into an immoderate fit of laughter.'

Our travellers next viewed an extraordinary burying-place, about a mile from Jerusalem, called the 'sepulchres of the kings of Judah.' On their return they made an ineffectual attempt to procure liberty to view the mosque erected upon the site of the temple by the caliph Omar, and which they pronounced the most magnificent piece of architecture in the Turkish empire.

'When we had seen all,' says Dr. Clarke, 'and much more than is worth notice, in Jerusalem; and had obtained from the superior of the Franciscan monastery the usual certificate given to pilgrims, of the different places we had visited in the Holy Land; we prepared for our departure. The worthy friars, who had treated us with very great attention, finding that we were determined to go to Bethlehem, where the plague then raged with fatal violence, told us, with expressions of regret, that they could not again receive us, if we persisted in our intention. We therefore took leave of them, resolved at all events to see the place of our Saviour's nativity, and then continue our journey to Jaffa, without entering Jerusalem in our return.

'Upon our road, we met an Arab with a goat, which he led about the country to exhibit, in order to gain a livelihood for itself

W. Davidson Sculpt.

An ARAB exhibiting the Feats of a GOAT.

and its owner. He had taught this animal, while he accompanied its movements with a song, to mount upon little cylindrical blocks of wood, placed successively one above the other, and in shape resembling the dice-boxes belonging to a backgammon table. In this manner the goat stood, first upon the top of one cylinder, then upon the top of two, and afterwards of three, four, five, and six, until it remained balanced upon the summit of them all, elevated several feet from the ground, and with its four feet collected upon a single point, without throwing down the disjointed fabric whereon it stood. The practice is very ancient. It is also noticed by Sandys. Nothing can shew more strikingly the tenacious footing possessed by this quadruped upon the jutty points and crags of rocks; and the circumstance of its ability to remain thus poised may render its appearance less surprising, as it is sometimes seen in the Alps, and in all mountainous countries, with hardly any place for its feet upon the sides, and by the brink of most tremendous precipices. The diameter of the upper cylinder, on which its four feet ultimately remained until the Arab had ended his ditty, was only two inches; and the length of each cylinder was six inches. The most curious part of the performance occurred afterwards; for the Arab, to convince us of the animal's attention to the turn of the air, interrupted the *da capo:* as often as he did this, the goat tottered, appeared uneasy, and, upon his becoming suddenly silent in the middle of his song, it fell to the ground.

'After travelling for about an hour, from the time of our leaving Jerusalem, we came in view of Bethlehem, and halted to enjoy the interesting sight. The town appeared covering the ridge of a hill on the southern side of a deep and extensive valley, and reaching from east to west; the most conspicuous object being the monastery, erected over the cave of the nativity, in the suburbs and upon the eastern side. The battlements and walls of this building seemed like those of a vast fortress. The Dead Sea below, upon our left, appeared so near to us, that we thought we could have rode thither in a very short space of time. The atmosphere was remarkably clear and serene; but we saw none of those clouds of smoke,

which, by some writers, are said to exhale from the surface of lake Asphaltites, nor from any neighbouring mountain. Every thing about it was, in the highest degree, grand and awful. Its desolate, although majestic features, are well suited to the tales related concerning it by the inhabitants of the country, who all speak of it with terror, seeming to shrink from the narrative of its deceitful allurements and deadly influence. "Beautiful fruit," say they, "grows upon its shores, which is no sooner touched, than it becomes dust and bitter ashes." In addition to its physical horrors, the region around is said to be more perilous, owing to the ferocious tribes wandering upon the shores of the lake, than any other part of the Holy Land. A passion for the marvellous has thus affixed, for ages, false characteristics to the sublimest associations of natural scenery in the whole world; for, although it be now known that the waters of this lake, instead of proving destructive to animal life, swarm with myriads of fishes; that, instead, of falling victims to its exhalations, certain birds make it their peculiar resort; that shells abound upon its shores; that the pretended "fruit, containing ashes," is as natural and as admirable a production of nature as the rest of the vegetable kingdom; that bodies sink or float in it, according to the proportion of their gravity to the gravity of the water; that its vapours are not more insalubrious than those of any other lake; that innumerable Arabs people the neighbouring district; notwithstanding all these facts are now well established, even the latest authors by whom it is mentioned, and one among the number, from whose writings some of these truths have been derived, continue to fill their descriptions with imaginary horrors and ideal phantoms, which, though less substantial than the "black perpendicular rocks" around it, "cast their lengthened shadows over the waters of the Dead Sea."

'The temptation to visit Bethlehem was so great, that, notwithstanding the increasing alarms concerning the ravages of the plague as we drew near the town, we resolved, at all events, to venture thither. For this purpose calling all our troop together, we appointed certain members of our cavalcade to keep a look-out, and act as guards in the van, centre, and

rear of the party, to see that no person loitered, and that none of the inhabitants might be permitted to touch us, or our horses and camels, on any account whatsoever. In this manner we passed entirely through the town, which we found almost deserted by the inhabitants, who, having fled the contagion, were seen stationed in tents over all the neighbouring hills. It appeared to be a larger place than we expected to find: the houses are all white and have flat roofs, as at Jerusalem, and in other parts of the country. We reached the great gate of the convent of the nativity without further accident; but did not choose to venture in, both on account of the danger, and the certainty of beholding over again much of the same sort of mummery which had so frequently put our patience to the proof in Jerusalem. Passing close to its walls, we took our course down into the deep valley which lies upon its north-eastern side; visiting the place where tradition says the angel, with a multitude of the heavenly host, appeared to the shepherds of Judea, with the glad tidings of our Saviour's nativity; and, finally, halting in an olive plantation at the bottom of the valley below the convent and the town.'

David's well, from which the three mighty men drew water, after breaking through the host of the Philistines, and the cave of the nativity, are still easily recognized. Our travellers passed on to Jaffa, which is distant from Jerusalem about forty miles. They narrowly escaped assassination on the road from the Arabs.

'Jaffa,' says he, 'appeared to be almost in as forlorn a state as Rama; the air itself was still infected with the smell of unburied bodies. We went to the house of the English consul, whose grey hairs had not exempted him from French extortion. He had just ventured to hoist again the British flag upon the roof of his dwelling; and he told us, with tears in his eyes, that it was the only proof of welcome he could offer to us, as the French officers, under Bonaparte, had stripped him of every thing he possessed. However, in the midst of all his complaints against the French, not a single syllable ever escaped his lips respecting the enormities sup-

posed to be committed, by means of Bonaparte's orders or connivance, in the town and neighbourhood of Jaffa. As there are so many living witnesses to attest the truth of this representation, and the character of no ordinary individual is so much implicated in its result, the utmost attention will be here paid to every particular likely to illustrate the fact; and for this especial reason, *because that individual is our enemy.* At the time we were in Jaffa, so soon after the supposed transactions are said to have occurred, the indignation of our consul, and of the inhabitants in general, against the French, were of so deep a nature, that there is nothing they would not have said, to vilify Bonaparte, or his officers: but this accusation they never even hinted. Nor is this all. Upon the evening of our arrival at Jaffa, walking with captain Culverhouse along the shore to the south of the town, in order to join some of our party who were gone in search of plants and shells, a powerful and most offensive smell, as from dead bodies, which we had before experienced more than once, in approaching the town, caused us to hesitate whether we should proceed or return. At this moment the author observed the remains of bodies in the sand; and captain Culverhouse, being in doubt whether they belonged to human bodies or to those of cattle, removed a part of the sand with his sword, and uncovered part of a hand and arm. Upon this, calling to our friends, we told them what we had discovered; and returning to the consul's house, asked him the cause of the revolting spectacle we had witnessed. He told us, that these were the remains of bodies carried thither, during the late plague, for interment; but that the sea, frequently removing the sand which covered them, caused them to be thus exposed; and he cautioned us in future against walking that way, as the infection might possibly be retained, not only by those bodies, but by the clothes, and other things, there deposited.

'*Joppa*, called also *Japha*, and now universally *Jaffa*, owes all the circumstances of its celebrity, as the principal port of Judea, to its situation with regard to Jerusalem. As a station for vessels, its harbour is one of the worst in the Mediterranean. Ships generally anchor about a mile from the town, to

avoid the shoals and rocks of the place. In ancient times it was the only place resorted to as a sea-port in all Judea. Hither Solomon ordered the materials for the temple to be brought from Mount Libanus, previous to their conveyance by land to Jerusalem. A tradition is preserved, that here Noah lived and built his ark. Pliny describes it as older than the deluge. Some authors ascribe the origin of Jaffa to Japhet, son of Noah, and thence derive its name. However fabulous such accounts may be now deemed, they afford proof of the great antiquity of the place; having been recorded by historians, for so many ages, as the only traditions extant concerning its origin. Jaffa is also celebrated as the port whence the prophet Jonas embarked for Nineveh. Here also St. Peter restored Tabitha to life. In the time of St. Jerome it was called *Japho.*

At this ancient place, our travellers embarked in a boat laden with fruit for Acre, where they soon arrived, highly gratified with their very interesting excursion.

A

TOUR IN SWITZERLAND,

BY

HELEN MARIA WILLIAMS.

THE amiable authoress of this interesting work, has traced, with all the rapidity and ardour of a fond imagination, and with the most sublime enthusiasm, those scenes of majestic grandeur which Switzerland presents. She also detailed the moral and political situation of the inhabitants during the time of her visit: but we shall confine ourselves principally to a description of those grand, permanent, and enchanting objects of nature, which withstand the shocks of time, and the revolution of empires. It shall be our business to seize the vivid colouring in which our fair enthusiast has clothed her emotions of admiration.

Being compelled to fly from Paris, to avoid the cruel tyranny of Robespierre, she proceeded straight to Switzerland. In travelling along the canton of Basil, she exclaims, 'What beautiful, what various combinations of rock, pine-clad hills thrown together in noble masses, and richly covered with their dark-tinted verdure; above which a bare peak sometimes lifts its sharp spiral head, as if to give effect to the landscape.

'What grateful sound to my ear were the murmurs of those soothing cascades, and clear rills which had more of beauty than sublimity, but which filled my heart with emotion, while I considered them as the prelude of scenes, where the water-fall swells

into a torrent, and where, instead of rapid brooks, and small streams, the broad lake spreads its majestic expanse of waters.

'I was yet only in the vestibule of Switzerland, and nature appeared to me as if lifting up gradually the veil which concealed those mighty objects of overwhelming grandeur, which my imagination sprung forward to meet with enthusiastic rapture. We passed by several country houses, with pleasure-grounds covered with verdant seats, bowers, and arbours, profanely cut into all the mishapen forms of Gothic fury.

'Many a traditionary tale gives a moral interest to the picturesque scenes of this enchanting country. In one of our airings on horseback, during our stay at a farm-house, we passed through a defile, above which rose piles of cliffs five hundred feet high, and on the brow of one of those towering crags we discerned the ruins of a Gothic castle, two windows of which still remain. "There," said our guide, pointing to the frowning summit of the rock, "some ages past lived a tyrant: he delighted in desolation and death, and whenever any of his vassals offended him, he ordered them to appear before him, and then caused the unhappy victims to be thrown headlong from yonder horrible precipice into this gulph below. Three centuries since his vassals had their revenge; they armed themselves, climbed up at night by almost inaccessible paths to the castle, which they surprized, and set on fire, and the tyrant perished in the flames."

Having arrived at Zuric, she was received by the French ambassador with elegant hospitality. 'This neat and cheerful town,' says she, 'is divided into two parts by the Limat, and delightfully situated on the northern extremity of its noble lake, which spreads far as the eye can reach, its mass of limpid waters, bounded by vine-covered hills, whose slopes are thick studded with houses and villages; while beyond this scene of picturesque beauty, the Alps, covered with their eternal snows, rise in the distant perspective, stretching towards the south-west, and mingling their summits with the clouds. It was not without the most powerful emotion that, for the first time, I cast my eyes on that solemn, that majestic vision, the Alps!—how often had the idea of those stupendous

mountains filled my heart with enthusiastic awe!—so long, so eagerly, had I desired to contemplate that scene of wonders, that I was unable to trace when first the wish was awakened in my bosom—it seemed from childhood to have made a part of my existence—I longed to bid adieu to the gaily-peopled landscapes of Zuric, and wander amidst those regions of mysterious sublimity, the solitudes of nature, where her eternal laws seem at all seasons to forbid more than the temporary visits of man, and where, sometimes, the dangerous passes to her frozen summits are inflexibly barred against mortal footsteps. The pleasure arising from the varying forms of smiling beauty with which we were surrounded, became a cold sensation, while expectation hung upon those vast gigantic shapes, that half-seen chaos which excited the stronger feelings of wonder mingled with admiration. But I was obliged, with whatever regret, to relinquish for the present a nearer view of those tremendous objects, since private affairs left me only sufficient leisure to visit the cataract of the Rhine before I returned to Basil.

'When we reached the summit of the hill which leads to the fall of the Rhine, we alighted from the carriage, and walked down the steep bank, whence I saw the river rolling turbulently over its bed of rocks, and heard the noise of the torrent, towards which we were descending, increasing as we drew near. My heart swelling with expectation—our path, as if formed to give the scene its full effect, concealed for some time the river from our view; till we reached a wooden balcony, projecting on the edge of the water, and whence, just sheltered from the torrent, it bursts in all its overwhelming wonders on the astonished sight. That stupendous cataract, rushing with wild impetuosity over those broken, unequal rocks, which, lifting up their sharp points amidst its sea of foam, disturb its headlong course, multiply its falls, and make the afflicted waters roar—that cadence of tumultuous sound, which had never till now struck upon my ear—those long feathery surges, giving the element a new aspect—that spray rising into clouds of vapour, and reflecting the prismatic colours, while it disperses itself over the hills—never, never can I forget the

sensations of that moment! when with a sort of annihilation of self, with every past impression erased from my memory, I felt as if my heart were bursting with emotions too strong to be sustained.—Oh, majestic torrent! which hast conveyed a new image of nature to my soul, the moments I have passed in contemplating thy sublimity will form an epocha in my short span!—thy course is coeval with time, and thou wilt rush down thy rocky walls when this bosom, which throbs with admiration at thy greatness, shall beat no longer!

'What an effort does it require to leave, after a transient glimpse, a scene on which, while we meditate, we can take no account of time! its narrow limits seem too confined for the expanded spirit; such objects appear to belong to immortality; they call the musing mind from all its little cares and vanities, to higher destinies and regions, more congenial than this world to the feelings they excite. I had been often summoned by my fellow-travellers to depart, had often repeated "but one moment more," and many "moments more" had elapsed, before I could resolve to tear myself from the balcony.'

From thence Miss Williams proceeded to Lucerne. 'The approach to this place,' she observes, 'is beautifully picturesque. About half a league from the town we crossed the Emmen, near the spot where it mingles its streams with the Reuss, which pours its swelling and limpid waters of a grassy hue from the lake. Lucerne is divided by this river, and the lake, into unequal portions, but the communication is rendered easy and agreeable by means of four bridges; one of which, of ordinary construction, serves for the passage of carriages, while the other three are calculated only for foot passengers. These bridges, one of which is six or seven hundred feet in length, and another from three to four hundred feet, present delightful views over the lake to the mountains, and serve as walks to the inhabitants, who are sheltered from the sun and rain, by a roof supported at every ten steps by pillars of wood: between those pillars pannels are fixed, painted on both sides, which represent in some places the most celebrated events of their national history, and in others scripture-subjects, and

fanciful figures of poetry and romance, such as winged dragons, griffins, devils, and centaurs.

'We embarked our horses, and departing from Lucerne at an early hour of a fine cloudless morning, began our voyage down the lake to Altorf. The hills rising from the shores near the town, which are but of little elevation, are covered for the most part with country-houses and gardens; and here the inhabitants, instead of warring with nature by strait lines and trimmed trees, had aided her loveliness by their taste in disposition and forbearance in ornament.

'The shores of the lake have witnessed most of the great actions that have been performed in Switzerland. At Grutlen, a village at the foot of the Seelisburg, on the opposite side of the lake, was held the confederacy where the generous design was planned by the three heroes for the deliverance of their country. The chapel of William Tell, as we advanced, presents itself on the right, perched among the rocks, in commemoration of his escape from the bailiff Geisler, by leaping from the boat in the midst of a tempest raised by subterraneous winds, which often render this navigation dangerous.

'No place could surely be found more correspondent to a great and generous purpose, more worthy of an heroical and sublime action, than the august and solemn scenery around us. The lake which we had traversed nearly from west to east, turns direct from the point opposite Brunen to the south, and is said to be in this part six or seven hundred feet deep. This branch is called the lake of Uri. Near its entrance insulated pointed rocks of singular form and construction rise boldly from the water. Having passed those precipices, we entered into a gulph, of which the boundaries were awfully terrific. On each side of the profound abyss, the dark lowering rocks rose sometimes abrupt, and barren, sometimes presenting tufts of pine and beech between its shaggy masses, and occasionally beyond these savage limits of the lake, the eye caught a glimpse of mountains in the lofty perspective, clothed midway with forests, and rising into peaks of alternate pasturage and crags.

'Beneath their inaccessible ramparts, whose enormous height gives an appearance of narrowness to the lake, we sailed, gazing with that kind of rapt astonishment which fears to disturb, or be disturbed by the mutual communication of thought. The approach of night spread new forms of shadowy greatness over the scene. We had loitered many hours on our passage, forgetting that the last part of our voyage was the most perilous. But the unruffled stillness of the water, the delicious serenity of the evening, and the long reflected rays of the moon from the whitened summits of the opposite mountains, of which we sometimes caught a glimpse, dissipated every idea of danger. The only sounds that broke the awful silence were the gentle motion of the oars of our wearied boatmen, and the tolling of the distant bell from Altorf, borne down the lake, and

"Swinging slow with sullen roar."

Milton.

'We had passed through all the soft gradations of twilight, and had enjoyed the brownest horrors of evening in all their deepening gloom, before the moon had scaled the lofty summits which concealed her from our view. At length she burst upon us in her fullest radiancy, illumining the dusky sides of the cragged rocks, and the dark foliage of the piny woods; burnishing with her silver rays the smooth and limpid waters; shooting her shadowy beams along the lake to the distant perspective of the mountains we had left behind; and lighting up the whole majestic scenery with glorious and chastened lustre.

'We reached almost with regret Fluellen, the port whither we were bound, and mounting our horses proceeded to Altorf, which lies at the distance of two miles.

'After leaving Altorf, we journeyed along a valley of three leagues, through which the Reuss flows with the ordinary rapidity of a Swiss river.

'The rocks, clothed at intervals with trees of various sorts rose high and steep on each side of the valley, which wore a fertile and smiling appearance till we came to the village of Stag; above which the Alps first lift their majestic heads.

Here we began to ascend that mass of mountains, which is rather the base than the mountain itself of St. Gothard. The road suddenly becomes so steep, that it required at first some address to keep a seat on horseback. The river, which glided gently through the valley on its expanded bed, being now hemmed in by rocks, begins to struggle for its passage at a profound depth. The pine-clad hills rose on each side to our farthest ken, down which torrent streams were rushing, and crossed our way to mingle themselves with the Reuss, which continually presented new scenes of wonder. The mountains seemed to close upon us as we advanced, sometimes but just space enough was left to admit the passage of the river foaming through the rocks, which seemed obstinately to oppose its passage. The road lay for a considerable length on the left side of the precipices, from which we beheld the struggles of the waters, and the tremendous succession of cascades which they formed. An abrupt precipice, forbidding the continuance of the road on this side, a bridge of hardy construction led to the opposite mountain, which is ascended, till meeting with a similar obstruction, we crossed the stream again to the left.

'On one of these bridges, we halted to gaze upon the scene around us, and the yawning gulph below. The depth is so tremendous, that the first emotion in looking over the bridge is that of terror, lest the side should fall away and plunge you into the dark abyss; and it requires some reflection to calm the painful turbulence of surprize, and leave the mind the full indulgence of the sensations of solemn enthusiastic delight, which swell the heart, while we contemplate such stupendous objects.

'The road up to the village of Wassen is highly romantic: here the industry of men has tamed some of those wild torrents, of which such numbers run idly to waste; and sawing mills and other machinery owe their impulse to those swiftly descending volumes. In this village we halted to repose from our fatigues, and began to feel some of the mountain breezes which contrasted very agreeably with the concentrated heat that had subdued us in the valley beneath. It was Sunday, the day was fine, and the village was crowded with the mountaineers who had come in to keep the festival, and practise, as they do every week in

some village of the canton, the art of shooting at a mark, which, independent of the amusement, is a duty imposed on every citizen, who, under the inspection of a magistrate, is obliged in the course of the year to fire a certain number of rounds, that he may keep his arms in order, and not forget the means of defending his country in case of invasion. We could yet see no traces of snow, except in the numerous torrents which rolled down the enormous mountains, the streams of which were considerably increased from a cause that in less mountainous countries would have produced an opposite effect, the excessive heat and dryness of the weather, which melted the snows of the glaciers.

'The views around Wassen are astonishing for their variety as well as beauty. You perceive, however, after passing the village, that you are advancing into a country where man is obliged to be continually at war with nature. On one side the mountain was stripped of its piny clothing to some extent, discovering, instead of dark green foliage, a bare rocky and gravelly waste, interspersed with wrecks of trees. This, we were told, was the ravage of an avalanche. When whole forests of majestic height are swept away with irresistible fury, what means of defence can human force oppose to such mighty destruction? Men, however, live tranquilly amidst the danger, and build their houses in such positions, and after such a construction, that the enemy, even if he chances to take the direction of their habitations, may pass over them unhurt.

'It was now the most luxuriant part of summer; we had left the glowing harvests beneath ripe for the sickle, and the fruits at two or three leagues distance hung in lavish clusters upon the bough; but in this region it not only was winter, but a winter that seemed here to have fixed its eternal abode; for not only were there no traces of renovation to inspire hope, but the impossibility of change was every where obdurately marked. Immense piles of naked rock, not less lofty than the mountains along which we passed, rose sometimes perpendicularly above our head, and sometimes falling back, left between the road and their horrid tops immense masses that seemed shivered from their sides, forming vast fields of rock.

'This passage, which in summer is sufficiently terrific, becomes dangerous in winter by the frequent avalanches that rush from those tremendous heights, and so delicately are these messengers of destruction hung on the summits, that the guides and mule-drivers tye up the bells of their cattle to prevent their jingling, and forbid a word to be spoken by the passengers, that the avalanche, which waits on the mountain to overwhelm them, may not hear them approach. Little crosses placed by the road side where travellers have perished, are melancholy momentos of such mortal accidents, against which, however, precautions are taken, by firing muskets to shake the air and precipitate the impending avalanche. Huge fragments of rocks sometimes present themselves as if they threatened to obstruct the way; and we remarked one enormous piece of beautiful granite that skirted the road, and is called the devil's stone, which, on account of some misunderstanding with the people of the country, he brought down from the mountain to destroy some of the works he had himself formerly constructed.

'Nothing can be imagined more bold and daring than the road that leads through the valley of Schellenen to the mountain of St. Gothard; the difficulties appear almost insurmountable; sometimes the road seems so narrow between frightful precipices on each side, that great blocks of granite are placed on the edges as safeguards to the passengers; and where the mountain forbids all possibility of passage, offering an impenetrable rampart by its vertical abruptness, the path juts out from the side supported by arches and pillars, which are built up from some salient points of the mass beneath, and seems "a ridge of pendant rock over the vexed abyss."

'This road, the breadth of which differs according to the facility of construction, is in some places from twelve to fifteen feet wide, and in others only ten, leaving in general space enough for loaded mules to pass each other; it is paved the greatest part of the way with granite, and is compared, by Mr. Raymond, to a ribband thrown negligently over the mountains.

'After winding for some time among these awful scenes, of which no painting can give an adequate description, and of

which an imagination the most pregnant to sublime horrors could form but a very imperfect idea, we came within the sound of these cataracts of the Reuss which announced our approach towards another operation of Satanic power, called the Devil's Bridge. We were more struck with the august drapery of this supernatural work, than with the work itself. It seemed less marvellous than expectation had pictured it, and we were perhaps the more disappointed, as we remembered that "the wonderous art pontifical," was a part of architecture with which his infernal majesty was perfectly well acquainted; and the rocks of the valley of Schellenen were certainly as solid foundations for bridge building as "the aggregated soil solid, or slimy," which was collected amidst the waste of chaos, and crowded drove "from each side shoaling towards the mouth of hell."

'On this spot we loitered for some time to contemplate the stupendous and terrific scenery. The mountainous rocks lifted their heads abrupt, and appeared to fix the limits of our progress at this point, unless we could climb the mighty torrent which was struggling impetuously for passage under our feet, after precipitating its afflicted waters with tremendous roar in successive cascades over the disjointed rocks, and filling the atmosphere with its foam.

'Separating ourselves with reluctance from these objects of overwhelming greatness, we turned an angle of the mountain at the end of the bridge, and proceeded along a way of difficult ascent, which led to a rock that seemed inflexibly to bar our passage. A bridge fastened to this rock by iron work, and suspended over the torrent, was formerly the only means of passing, but numerous accidents led the government to seek another outlet. The rock being too high to climb, and too weighty to remove, the engineer took the middle way, and bored a hole in the solid mass two hundred feet long, and about ten or twelve feet broad and high, through which he carried the road. The entrance into this subterraneous passage is almost dark, and the little light that penetrates through a crevice in the rock, serves only to make its obscurity more visible. Filled with powerful images of the terrible and

sublime, from the enormous objects which I had been contemplating for some hours past, objects, the forms of which were new to my imagination, it was not without a feeling of reluctance that I plunged into this scene of night, whose thick gloom heightened every sensation of terror.

'After passing through this cavern, the view which suddenly unfolded itself appeared rather a gay illusion of the fancy than real nature. No magical wand was ever fabled to shift more instantaneously the scene, or call up forms of more striking contrast to those on which we had gazed. On the other side of the cavern we seemed amidst the chaos or the overthrow of nature; on this we beheld her drest in all the loveliness of infancy or renovation, with every charm of soft and tranquil beauty. The rugged and stony interstices between the mountain and the road were here changed into smooth and verdant paths; the abrupt precipice and shagged rock were metamorphosed into gently sloping declivities; the barren and monotonous desert was transformed into a fertile and smiling plain. The long resounding cataract, struggling through the huge masses of granite, here became a calm and limpid current, gliding over fine beds of sand with gentle murmurs, as if reluctant to leave that enchanting abode.

'One of my fellow-travellers observed, that this valley, which is three miles in length, and two in breadth, had, according to every appearance, been originally a lake; for which he adduced many mineralogical reasons; and that the drying up of the lake was occasioned by some violent fraction at the bottom of this valley, which drained the water off from the land, leaving it in its present form. Every part of the valley bore marks of high cultivation, if that term can be applied to the culture of meadow lands, where we saw herds of cattle grazing. One production indeed, essentially necessary for a country so elevated, was wanting; although the day had been uncommonly beautiful and serene, and the sun shed its softest rays where we entered this valley, yet the snows on the higher mountains, and our feelings, when at the close of the evening we reached the village of the Hospital, at the opposite side of the valley, reminded us that the most acceptable offering our

host could make us was, one of those bundles of wood which the villagers are obliged to bring up with great labour and expence from the mountains beneath.

'According to popular tradition, this valley was not always so unprovided with this article of first necessity: the mountaineers are persuaded that their hills were once covered with forests, but that some magician who dwelt higher up the mountain, or in some other place, less a paradise than their own, not only burnt their woods, but so bound their soil with potent spells, that it has ever since been incapable of producing trees.

'We passed the night at the village of Hospital, and the next morning pursued our journey, beginning from hence to ascend what is properly the mountain of St. Gothard. The scene no longer exhibited the savage horrors of the chaos we had traversed the preceding day; the road was neither extremely rapid or dangerous; every where we beheld vegetation, and the mountain myrtle, the white hellebore, and other shrubs, indigenous to high regions, were in their bloom. The Reuss had now sunk into a rivulet, being no longer fed, as below, by the numerous streams that assemble their waters from the hills on each side Urseren; sometimes it presented a succession of fanciful cascades, across which one might leap without apprehension, even if the foot should slip in the enterprize. We had been much affected during the night with cold, and concluded that we had more to suffer before we reached the summit; but exercise and the enlivening sun-beams banished a sensation so new, after having the preceding day felt the heats of July in the valley of Altorf.

'We hitherto found that we had indulged a vain expectation of enjoying, from those lofty heights, vast and picturesque views of the countries beneath; since we had nearly attained what is called the top of St. Gothard, and had yet seen no object that was more remote than the distance of two leagues. If we looked forward, there appeared nothing but the mountain which we had to climb, and which, having ascended was succeeded by another. When we looked back, the mountain we had left was the only object which presented itself, and on

either side our view was confined by these wooded precipices, through which, the preceding morning, we had winded our way. Between Urseren and the summit of St. Gothard, amidst piles of rocks which seemed to forbid all ken beyond, we were, however, gratified with one of those bursts through an opening to the north, which displayed in rich succession the summits of all the mountains we had passed, and others at an immense distance, some gilded by sun-shine, and some enveloped by clouds rolling like a troubled ocean far beneath.

'Although the sun poured its noon-tide rays, we perceived that we were ascending into regions of frost, from the non-appearance, or rather the absence, of vegetation. The luxuriant pasture of the valley was succeeded by a coarse spiral grass, which now gave way to moss, or the bare rock, and a solitary and stunted shrub sometimes protruding itself, seemed to mark, not so much the barrenness of the soil, as the proscription of vegetable life.

'We at length reached the summit of St. Gothard, and were saluted on our arrival at the convent by a courteous monk, who came out to welcome us, and invite to take refreshments. During three or four months in the year these capuchins spend their time agreeably enough, and probably there is no spot half so far out of the reach of the habitable globe, where so much variety of amusement is to be found. Every successive guest has much to inquire or impart, and here above the world these hermits have many opportunities of witnessing the whimsies and follies with which it abounds. They informed us, that the day before our arrival a numerous retinue of horses, oxen, mules, and other cattle, had passed in the suite of a great man, whose carriage they had dragged, by his order, from the bottom of the mountain, that he might have the fame of crossing St. Gothard in a vehicle with wheels. As our countrymen are known to be the only travelling philosophers, who make experiments of this kind,' the monks had no difficulty in conjecturing on the approach of this long procession, that if it was not the emperor, or the burgo-master of Berne, the two greatest personages they had heard of, it must be an English lord; and they were not mistaken in their con-

jecture; it proved to be an English lord, who, for the reasons above-mentioned, had run the risk of breaking his neck in his mountain gig, over precipices, which he might have traversed without danger on horseback, or if he could not ride, in a litter. A tragical effect of this sort of temerity had happened some time before to another young English nobleman, who, although repeatedly warned by his tutors, that if he attempted to swim down the cataracts of the Rhine, near Rhinfelden, he would inevitably be dashed to pieces, made the fatal experiment, and perished with his companion on the rocks.

'In the winter the intercourse of these fathers is confined chiefly to the muleteers, who, at all seasons, traverse these mountains in spite of snows and avalanches. Here the poor traveller, beaten by the tempests, finds repose and nourishment; nor do the monks demand, even of the wealthy passenger, any recompence for the courtesies they bestow. Every thing that their house affords is set before him with cheerfulness; and he usually returns the hospitality, by leaving on his departure a piece of money under his plate, in order to provide for the relief of travellers, less fortunate than himself. But these pious fathers chiefly maintain this benevolent establishment, by begging once a year through Switzerland for its support, and well would monastic orders have deserved of mankind, and a stronger force than the French revolution would it have required to destroy them, had they consecrated their lives and labours to works of similar usefulness, and thus become the benefactors instead of the burden of society.

'On the top of St. Gothard, one of the most elevated mountains of Europe, we had once imagined the view into Italy on one side, and over Switzerland on the other, would reward all our toil; but this platform, so raised above the level of the earth, is only a deep valley, when compared with the lateral mountains, and skirting piles of rock that bound the view to this desart, diversified only by the habitation of the capuchins, and the adjoining lakes. Had we even been able to reach any of those rocky summits, which lie on either side, we should have perceived only a chaos of rocks and mountains beneath, with clouds floating at their bases, concealing the rest from our view,

and cliffs above covered with untrodden snows; for we were not yet in the region of glaciers; the eternal ice impended far beyond; and we were told that the mineralogists, or those who go in search of crystal, which is found in considerable quantities in those mountains, are the only persons who expose themselves to the danger of climbing those tremendous precipices.

'In our rambles near the convent, we saw the remains of a mighty avalanche, which had so fallen as to form a magnificent bridge over the torrent of the Tessino, the waters having hollowed it below in struggling for a passage; but its surface had yet resisted all the attacks of the summer sun beams, and seemed as if pleased with its new habitation, it had there fixed its abode for ever. We walked over this icy bridge to the other side of the torrent, and some of my fellow-travellers amused themselves with a diversion not very common in the middle of July, that of throwing snow-balls at each other. The temperature of this mountain, the monk told us, was at times various, even in the same day; but more constant in general than in the region beneath. Sometimes the Italian zephyr came over them with its genial influence, and conveyed a transient sensation of summer; sometimes they enjoyed clear sun-shine on the summit, when travellers arrived from below drenched in rain; but it appeared from the good man's narrative, that we must make a winter's sojourn with him to form any adequate idea of the pelting of the pitiless storm during six or seven months of the year.

'We bade adieu to this courteous monk, promising ourselves the satisfaction of spending a day with him on our return, and began to descend the mountain on the Italian side, which, though almost vertically steep, is rendered practicable by a well paved road, formed along the side of the mountain, and which, by its frequent returns, brings the traveller without much inconvenience to the base. Although the road was good, the declivity was too great to admit of our trusting ourselves on horseback, especially as our horses had not been accustomed to travel through such mountainous countries. As we loitered down the steep, the mules we had left behind at the convent overtook us, and we admired the firmness with

which they trod under their heavy burdens. Meanwhile a numerous caravan coming from Italy had begun to ascend the same precipice; and nothing could be more picturesque than the waving picture they presented as they moved along the winding path.

'After descending a considerable way, we turned to look back on the precipices we had passed. High in air, at a remote distance, we beheld the Tessino on the summit of the mountain, rushing as from the sky over the perpendicular rock. The rapid descent to the base of the mountain is highly picturesque, the verdant valley beneath, in which Airolo is placed, suddenly opened to us strewn with villages, and, when compared with the solitudes we had left, presented a large and beautiful prospect of human existence; while the gloomy grandeur of the forests of dark pines on one side, and the view across the valley of lesser mountains, whose last snows were dissolving in the summer ray on the other, form altogether a scene where sublimity and grace blend in solemn harmony.

'We entered into the Levantine valley at Airolo, which is a considerable village, or rather a small town at the foot of St. Gothard, handsomely built of stone, and the chief entrepot or warehouse for all goods that pass between this part of Switzerland and Italy.

'Having accompanied the Tessino since our departure from Airolo, flowing sometimes on our right, and sometimes on our left, with a gentle and steady course; we supposed that the youthful spirit with which it had bounded over its native regions being now sobered, it would continue to pursue, with an even current, "the noiseless tenor of its way." The loud roar of many waters, as we alighted from our horses at Dazio, led us to catch the last lingering shades of twilight, and follow those powerful sounds. Having advanced a few paces, we perceived that the spacious valley through which we had travelled, was abruptly closed by stupendous perpendicular rocks, that left no other opening than a narrow channel with a space gained from it by human industry to form a road between its massy walls and the torrent. The waters which had begun to

struggle for passage above a bridge which is thrown across the stream, were now tortured into a thousand forms. Here a mass of rock of enormous size in the midst of the channel raised the river at once from its bed, pouring it impetuously into a deep bason with tremendous roar; there a rifted cleft, the only outlet to the waters, increased their fury, and dashing against the rocks with redoubled force, broke the torrent into different currents, and filled the atmosphere with particles of its foam. The enormous masses of rock sometimes lifted erect their bold and savage shapes, and sometimes, where they had been hollowed out to form the road, towered at an immense height over the path and the torrent with such threatening aspect, that I could not pass beneath without feeling an involuntary shudder, which was heightened by the approaching darkness. Below the frowning brow of the rocks, hanging groves of pine and fir bend majestically from the cliffs, while the graceful larch-tree decorates the banks, and the weeping birch bends far over the stream and mingles its long branches with the agitated waters. The rapidity of the descent is communicated to the river, and a succession of sweeping cascades, that rush in every imaginary form down a channel, worn at a fearful depth below the level of the road, leads to a bridge which seemed hung in air over the gulph, but of which we could only catch an imperfect glimpse, since the last shades of evening had now fallen on the scene, and we trod back our steps up the winding brink of the torrent, not without the deepest impressions of awe softened by admiration.

'On our return we found Dazio the residence of mirth and gaiety. It was the harvest-home of the master of the inn, and, as we passed to our apartments, a chorus met our ear that seemed to burst from throats more tuneful than those of peasants. With the licence allowed to travellers, we joined the festive throng, and were not a little amused with the manner in which this harmonious circle was composed. The chief of the band, and most illustrious of the guests, were half a dozen merry Italian priests, who, it was evident, from their rubicund faces and sparkling looks, had been consulting other poets than those whose hymns were to be found in their brevi-

aries or mass-books. Great allowances must be made for national customs, but the appearance of so many holy men thrilling out amorous love-songs, and chanting bacchanalian glees, although with voices harmoniously tuned, and considerable force of execution, did not a little surprize us, who were accustomed to the gravity and reserve of the clerical character in other countries.

'After leaving the town of Faido, (continues our tourist,) we continued our route along the valley, ever presenting some scene of wild, solemn, majestic beauty, over which the eye wandered with unwearied delight; of which the picture is indelibly graven on the imagination, and which memory recals with soothing rapture; but when the pen would trace those images which glow upon the heart, it is found unfaithful to the purpose! How impossible to convey an adequate idea of those varied, those colossal regions, compared to which all other scenery is tame and diminutive, all other objects are "flat, stale, and unprofitable."

Our authoress next visited the town and lake of Lugano. 'While sailing on the lake,' says she, 'we were overtaken by a storm. The extreme heat of the weather had long presaged a thunder storm; but although we saw clouds at a remote distance gathering on the summits, we had little apprehension on embarking, that we should feel their discharge before we reached the opposite shore.

'Our boatmen, more experienced than ourselves, had warned my companions, as I was afterwards informed, that the breeze was on its way, and offered to return the following morning; but among my fellow-travellers were three Englishmen, and the newspapers waited for them at Bellinzone. Storms, when weighed against newspapers, were found light in the balance, and the vessel was ordered to be got ready. We had nearly reached the middle of the lake, before the tempest, which we saw gathering thicker on the hills, began to agitate the waters. At first the lightening flashing in white fantastic streaks, and the lofty thunder echoing along the mountains, were objects of pleasing, though awful admiration; and we were indulging ourselves with the hope, that the storm

was passing away harmless, when a burst of wind struck on the lake, and threw the foaming waters into our bark. It was too late to return, since the wind rushing down the lake, which we were crossing, would have rendered retreat as difficult as going forward.

'The storm increased every moment, and the boatmen attempted to make land at any point, but their efforts were ineffectual. Our progress was so slow in the struggle with the waves, that we feared night would overtake us before we could reach the shore; and every person in the boat becoming sensible of the danger, seized the oar, and relieved each other by turns.

'After much terror on my part, and much labour on that of my fellow-travellers, perhaps mingled with a wish that they had left Europe to its fate till the next morning, we reached a distant part of the shore, where sheltered from the tempest, which continued with unabated fury, we coasted it back, finding it impracticable to land, and arrived at Maggedino towards the close of the evening. We were still nine or ten miles distant from Bellinzone, and were harassed and fatigued; but an obstacle presented itself more insurmountable than the gazettes to our remaining in this village, which was the want of every kind of accomodation, either of food or lodging. We recollected also, that we were at the foot of mount Cenere, the haunt of robbers and assassins; and there was nothing in the looks of those we saw around us to inspire confidence. While we were deliberating what course we should pursue, undecided between the danger of remaining in this insulated spot, and the inconveniences we should suffer in braving the tempest, the ceasing of the rain decided us to go on to Bellinzone.

'Unacquainted with the road, and afraid to ask a guide of the surly host, we had not proceeded far, when it became so dark, that we could perceive no object, but by the frequent flashes of lightning darting from the livid clouds, while sometimes the menacing roar of torrents, rushing fresh from the hills across our way, was unheard amidst loud bursts of thunder. We were almost in a situation of as much danger as on the lake, since we knew, that before we reached Bellinzone, we had a considerable stream to cross, and feared, that swelled

by rains from the hills, it might have become impassable. In this perplexity, a friendly light appeared at a distance, which produced from the window of the curé of an hamlet we were approaching. He invited us to enter, but we put his politeness to no further test than requesting his interposition with some of his parishioners for a guide, which he immediately went to a neighbouring hut to procure, and under his auspices we reached, after midnight, Bellinzone and the journals.

After reposing a few days at this place, our fair traveller and her companions departed and proceeded towards the Bernardin mountains. 'Before we came,' says she, 'to the end of the valley of Misox, where the mountain, direct in front, lofty and abrupt, seemed to preclude all possibility of proceeding, we passed for a considerable way over a road entirely broken up, and which displayed the roots of larches, pines, and other mountain trees, mingled with vast mounds of gravelly stones and masses of rock. This desolation had been caused by a deluge from the upper mountains, on the sudden melting of the snows in the spring from an incessant rain, which lasted several days, accompanied by gusts of warm winds, like the sirocco of Italy. The openings into the ravines of the mountains where the snow had drifted, and from its mass had resisted the influence of the heat which melted the thinner layers, served as sluice-gates to the sea of waters which they ingulphed. The increasing weight of those waters from the melting of the snows above, together with the decrease in the resisting mass beneath, from the heat and the rain, prepared at length the catastrophe, by the giving way of the icy barrier.

'Language can but feebly paint the sublime and terrific effects of this deluge of the mountainous sea. Had our poet, Thomson, beheld this mighty devastation, his glowing imagination would have presented us with far other images than those of

"Herds and flocks, and travellers and swains,
"And sometimes whole brigades of marching troops,
"Or hamlets sleeping in the dead of night;"

the feeble works of human art and industry hurled beneath the smothering ruins. He would have viewed the lofty pine, the ancient inhabitant of the Alps, whose roots had been rivetted for ages to the soil, swept away, by the horrible flood, like the chaff; the rocks, coeval with time, and which seemed fixed on the solid globe till time shall be no longer, torn from their base with irresistible fury, and rolled, in one wild convulsive commotion, down the tremendous precipices, riving up the affrighted soil, in their descent, and covering the fertile pasturage and rich champain with irreparable desolation.

'A narrow pass cut out of a fantastic rock, hanging over the Moesa, which forms a bay in the plain, brought us to the foot of this perpendicular mountain, down whose dark wooded and shaggy precipices we heard the torrent roaring, but which their projecting sides concealed from our view. We appeared to be inclosed between inaccessible heights; there was no passage discoverable like that of the cavern which leads from the Devil's Bridge into the valley of Urseren, and it would have exercised the imagination, to have built even an ideal road by which the ascent could be gained. The mountaineers, however had overcome the difficulty; on that side of the mountain which was the most sloping, or rather the least perpendicular, a road was cut in traverse directions to the end of the slope, whence it was returned in an angle, sufficiently broad to permit the ascent of cattle, and so continued from one side to the other supported by beams of wood, either for the preservation of the way, or to keep the traveller from stumbling over the precipice, till after laborious climbing it brings him to the summit.'

They continued to climb the stupendous summit of this mountain until they reached the village of St. Bernardin, where 'finding ourselves,' observes Miss Williams, 'within the influence of the glaciers, which we saw stretching far before us, we concluded, that we had nearly reached the summit, but learnt that we had yet a league of very rough ascent to pass over before we should begin to descend on the other side. We made a halt at the village of St. Bernardin, if two or three

houses, one of which is an inn, and a little building dignified by the name of a chapel, can be called a village. The country around wears a cheerless, solitary aspect. We were not got beyond the reach of vegetation; but it was a vegetation that made the barrenness of the soil more visible. The inhabitant of the Lower Alps shares no property in this sterile region: the wandering shepherd of the plains alone steals the winged days of summer, to lead over an unappropriated soil his ragged and ill-favoured flock. His miserable hut is composed of pieces of rock, through the cranies of which the wind and the rain pour without resistance. His chief and almost unvaried food is oatmeal and water; for the soil would reward no cultivation: bread is the produce only of climates far below; he is bereaved even of the most common enjoyments of social life.

'The top of St Bernardin affords nothing that is striking, except its desolate uniformity; here are no masses of enormous rock, no tremendous precipices, no yawning chasms; no object picturesque or awful. The storms of ages have not only stript it of the means of vegetation, by washing away every vestige of soil, but have humbled the rocks, if any once stood prominent, to a modest level with the waste. The mountain still rising on the right, conceals the glaciers that separate the Grisons from the Valteline, but on the left the eye wanders far over those regions of eternal frost, which are formed by the eastern extremity of that chain of mountains, known to the ancients under the name of the Adula. In the front the view extends across the valley of the Rhine, to the glaciers that separate it from the other vallies of the Grisons. We seemed within reach of those glaciers which we beheld falling, like an immense veil, down the mountain below our present elevation, and were eager to tread their glossy surface; but were told that a passage across from St. Bernardin was impracticable.

'After reposing ourselves on the summit, amidst this chaos of unvivified nature, we began to descend on the northern side. The mountains we had just scaled were so abruptly thrown back, that we could discern no farther in a direct line before

us, than the hill which we were immediately ascending, and often believed we had attained the summit before we had conquered half the road. On the other side we were presented with a majestic sweep down the mountain, and along the lofty hills that inclose the valley of the Rhine, stretching away to the piny forests rising above the vale of Splugen. After descending a considerable way almost perpendicularly, but on a firm and well-constructed road, we came in view of that celebrated river which we had lately beheld bearing its thundering mass of waters to the ocean, but which, now just springing from its source, steals placidly along the quiet valley, soft as the first sleep of infancy after it has waked to new existence.'

On the ascent to the glaciers our travellers observed, that the side of the mountain 'produced a fine short grass; and the peasants were spreading as we passed their scented harvest, to the pleasant, but fleeting sun-beam, eager to improve the precarious blessing, and snatch the golden moments! Along a fine amphitheatre of mountains, we spied the inhabitants of the various cottages at this pastoral employment, hanging on the steeps like goats, to turn the swath, and leaving us to wonder by what ingenuity the grass was first mowed. These *chalets*, or mountain cabins, are fitted for the region where they are placed, though of an order of architecture of which Palladio gives no description. They are in general built with the wood of the pine or the larch, but when not in the neighbourhood of forests, are erected with stone. To most of the chalets the mountain itself affords one side ready constructed, as they are usually placed in such situations that when the avalanche rolls from the top, it shall find no resistance from those habitations, shielded by the friendly hill that rises abrupt behind, but passing harmless over the sheltered dwelling, fling at a safe distance its destructive mass.

'The ascent to the glaciers on the opposite side of the valley appeared so romantic, that we regretted for a moment that we had not taken a route, which seemed not only pleasanter, but shorter; our mountain companions, however, silenced our murmurs by assuring us that every step we took, though apparently leading us further from the opposite mountain, would at length

bring us nearer. We had been so often deceived in our ideas of distances in the Alps, which it requires long usage and a mountain-eye to calculate accurately, that we gave up our reason to the care of these Grisons, persuaded that some mountain-miracle would be wrought in our favour.

'The latter part of our journey was extreme toil; at some distance from the top, the mule which had hitherto carried me was left tied to a rock, and our guides supported me up the rugged steep; my fellow-travellers, who were furnished with crampons, little machines buckled to the feet, with points to enable the wearer to keep his hold, purchased their security by excessive fatigue from wearing them.

'We were frequently overcome by the extreme heat, as well as by the difficulty of the path, and often stopped to cool our fever at the torrent which we saw bursting above, from its icy source. No inconvenience, we were told, resulted from taking this cooling draught; though far from being convinced of the truth of this assertion, we were glad to find an excuse in the example of our Grison companions, for quaffing this delicious beverage; and like our first parent, "when not deceiv'd, but fondly overcome," he tasted "of that fair enticing fruit," so we, against our better knowledge, scrupled not to drink large libations of this tempting nectarious water.

'With an inexpressible sensation of fatigue like the giddiness of delirium, breathless, and burning with heat, we threw ourselves, some time after mid-day, on the grass, along the icy boundary, from whose base rushed the torrent whence we gathered the icicles that again slackened our excessive thirst. These feelings of parched heat were not the effects of fatigue; we had taken as violent exercise beneath the hot noon-tide rays in the Italian vallies, with less feverish sensations than we now experienced in those regions of winter. After a slight interval of repose, however, we found ourselves restored to that feeling of serene, tranquil delight, for which the philosophers who have written on the theory of the Higher Alps, account, from the purity of the atmosphere at that immense elevation; and which state of soothing happiness Rousseau has described with his usual eloquence, in a letter to Julia.

'While my fellow-travellers amused themselves by wandering over that world of ice, a difficult and dangerous enterprize, I sat down on the border of the glacier, to enjoy the new and magnificent vision around me. On the right, rocks and mountains of ice arose in dread and sublime perspective; before me, St. Bernardin lifted its barren and uncovered top; and nearly in the same direction, the eye wanders over a chain of glaciers which separates the valley of the Rhine from the subject countries of the Grisons, Bormeo, and the Valteline. These were the glaciers which mid-way, we regretted not having scaled, and which our guides told us we should reach sooner in the direction we had already taken. So far as we might trust to the testimony of our senses, they were not mistaken. These glaciers appeared to touch that on which we were now placed; and it seemed as if we had only to descend a little from our present elevation, in order to climb the savage and naked pyramids of rocks which raised themselves up from the far-spread desert of ice, like barren islands from a troubled sea. We were, however, separated from those objects by a space of several miles, measured on the ground; but the intervening gulph was hid from our sight by the swell of the mountains. On the left, the eye was borne over the amphitheatre of hills, green with pasturage, up to the ridge of ice, stretching along its own sullen and perhaps incroaching boundary. The cattle were cropping the herbage on the steep, and the chamois bounding over the rocks, for such the Grison peasant told me were a few playful animals I perceived at a great distance at the edge of the glacier, over which my fellow-travellers were wandering. I employed the hours of meditation in throwing together the new images with which the Alpine scenery had filled my mind, into the form of an hymn, to the author of nature; and no spot can surely be more congenial to devotional feelings, than that theatre where the divinity has displayed the most stupendous of his earthly works.

'The lengthening shadow of the icy wall, at the foot of which I was sitting, drew me from my meditations, and I began to be seriously alarmed at the absence of my friends. The opposite glaciers were now lighted up with that glowing

rose-coloured hue, with which they are tinged at parting day. I gazed with rapture on this glorious vision, which I had before seen at an immense distance, and with feeble impressions compared to the enthusiastic, the solemn emotion I now experienced. The clouds were rolling high above the valley, but remotely beneath the spot where I stood, in gorgeously coloured billows, as their upper surfaces were tinged by the last rays of the sun.

'While I was contemplating these majestic images, my fellow-travellers hailed us from a distant part of the mountain, to which they had descended from the glacier. There was no time left to listen to their

"Travels' history,
Of Anters vast, and deserts idle,
Rough quarries, rocks, and hills, whose heads touch heaven,"

all of which I should have been very seriously inclined to hear, if our guides had not reminded us, that though the tops of the mountains where we stood, were still rejoicing in the light of day, darkness already brooded over the face of the vallies.

'The vapours gathered thicker as the evening advanced; and from the brow of the first slope where we descended, we paused a moment to snatch a nearer view of the tumultuous swelling tide of clouds into which we were about to plunge, rolling in silent but awful discordance along the valley, between the majestic streights of the glaciers.

'We had scarcely gained the spot where we had left our mule, before the sun had taken his last leave of the pointed rocks on the opposite glacier, and night seemed rising from the valley. We found the bridle in the place where we had tied it to the rock, but the mule, in whose reputation for patience we had placed too much confidence, or who had formed a better judgment of the fit hour of retreat than ourselves, had withdrawn his head, and absconded. I had rather been borne, than supported to this spot, between two of our guides; a mode of conveyance which was both disagreeable and inconvenient. To walk down to the valley was for me impossible, to look for the mule along the mountains would

have been a vain attempt, and to have sought another from below, would have delayed our return till midnight. In this perplexity, one of our Grison guides, who had rambled a few paces in search of the animal, returned with his arms full of shrubs, which he placed in two leathern girdles fastened to the long poles that are the walking sticks of the glaciers, and tied them together, so as to form a sort of chair, or litter; on this I placed myself, not without some apprehension, but was carried in perfect safety down to the cottage where we had breakfasted in the morning, and where we found our mule, who had been caught marching homewards early in the evening, and detained by the cottagers till our return.'

Miss Williams next visited the source of the Rhine, and various other parts of Switzerland, after which, a milder government having been established in France, she returned to Paris, where says she, 'I had only scenes of gratulation to witness, and only tears of luxury to shed!'

LETTERS

FROM

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL,

BY

ROBERT SOUTHEY.

SPAIN and Portugal, from being lately the seat of war, and the object of contest, have excited the curiosity of all classes, respecting their political, civil, and religious institutions. Some parts of these subjects have been ably illustrated by several learned travellers, and some amusing sketches relative to the same points, have been published by British officers who served in the peninsular war; but none have excelled the writer of these letters in accuracy of description, and liveliness of narration. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that they are the productions of Mr. Robert Southey, the celebrated poet, now known as Robert Southey, esquire, poet-laureat.

Mr. Southey arrived at Corunna, on Sunday Dec. 13th 1795, when he exclaims, 'Oh the luxury of arriving at Tartarus, if the river Styx be as broad and as rough as the bay of Biscay, and Charon's boat accommodated like the Spanish packet of Senor Don Raimundo Aruspini! When I first went on board, the mate was employed in cutting a cross upon the side of his birth, and the sailors were feasting upon a mess of biscuit, onions, liver, and horse beans, boiled into a brown pap, which they were all pawing out of a bucket. The same taste and cleanliness of cookery were displayed in the

only dinner they afforded us on the passage; and the same spirit of devotion made them, when the wind blew hard, turn in to bed and to prayers. The weather was bad and I was terrified; but, though I had not a brass heart, the ship had a copper bottom; and on the fifth morning we arrived in sight of cape Finisterre.

'We dropt anchor in the harbour at one o'clock, as hungry as Englishmen may be supposed to be, after five days imprisonment in a Spanish packet; and with that eagerness to be on shore, which no one can imagine who has never been at sea. We were not, however, permitted to land, till we had received a visit from the custom-house officers. To receive these men in office, it was necessary that Senor Don Raimudo Aruspini should pulchrify his person: after this metamorphosis took place, we were obliged to wait, while these unmerciful visitors drank the captain's porter, bottle after bottle, as fast as he could supply them; and though their official business did not occupy five minutes, it was five o'clock in the evening before we were suffered to depart, and even then we were obliged to leave our baggage behind us.

'Other places attract the eye of a traveller, but Corunna takes his attention by the nose. My head is still giddy from the motion of the ship, is confused by the multiplicity of novel objects,---the dress of the people---the projecting roofs and balconies of the houses---the filth of the streets, so strange and so disgusting to an Englishman: but, what is most strange, is to hear a language which conveys to me only the melancholy reflection, that I am in a land of strangers.

'We are at the Navio (the Ship) a POSADA kept by an Italian. Forgive me for using the Spanish name, that I may not commit blasphemy against all English pot-houses. Our dinner was a fowl fried in oil, and served up in an attitude not unlike that of a frog, taken suddenly with the cramp. With this we had an omelet of eggs and garlic, fried in the same execrable oil; and our only drink was a meagre wine, price about two-pence the bottle---value worse than nothing, which by comparison, exalts small beer into nectar. In this land of olives, they poison you with the most villainous oil;

for the fruit is suffered to grow rancid before the juice is expressed.

'You must perceive that I write at such opportunities as can be caught from my companions, for the room we sit in serves likewise for the bed-chamber. It is now Monday morning. Oh, the misery of the night! I have been so *flead*, that a painter would find me an excellent subject for the martyrdom of St Bartholomew. Jacob's pillow of stone was a down cushion, compared to that which bruised my head last night; and my bed had all possible varieties of hill and vale, in whose recesses the fleas lay safe; for otherwise I should inevitably have broken their bones by rolling over them. Our apartment is indeed furnished with windows; and he who takes the trouble to examine, may convince himself that they have once been glazed. The night air is very cold, and I have only one solitary blanket; but it is a very pretty one, with red and yellow stripes. Add to this catalogue of comforts, that the cats were saying soft things in most vile Spanish; and you may judge what refreshment I have received from sleep.

'At breakfast they brought us our tea on a plate by way of cannister, and some butter of the country, positively not go-down-able. This however was followed by some excellent chocolate, and I soon established a plenum in my system.

'The monuments of Spanish jealousy still remain in the old houses; and the balconies of them are fronted with a lattice more thickly barred, than ever was hencoop in England. But jealousy is out of fashion at present; and they tell me, an almost universal depravity of manners has succeeded. The men are a Jew-looking race; the little boys wear the monkey appendage of a tail, and I see infants with more feathers than a fantastic fine lady would wear at a ball. The women soon appear old, and then every feature settles into symmetry of ugliness. If ever Opie paints another witch, he ought to visit Corunna. All ideas that you can form by the help of blear eyes, mahogany complexion, and shrivelled parchment, must fall infinitely short of the life.

'The carts here remind me of the ancient war-chariots, and the men stand in them as they drive. They are drawn by two oxen, and the wheels make a most melancholy and detestable discord. The governor of this town once ordered that they should be kept well oiled to prevent this; but the drivers presented a petition against it, stating, that the oxen liked the sound, and would not draw without it; and therefore the order was revoked.

'A low wall is built all along the water-side to prevent smuggling. This town is admirably paved, but its filth is astonishing, when, with so little trouble, it might be kept clean. In order to keep the balconies dry, the water-spouts project very far: there are no vents left in the wall, and the water and the filth lie in the middle of the streets, till the sun dries, and the winds sweep them. The market-place is very good; and its fountain ornamented with a fine squab-faced figure of Fame. The fountains are well contrived—the spouts are placed so high that no person can either dirt or deface them; and they therefore fill their vessel by the medium of a long tube, shaped like a tobacco pipe.'

After this our author proceeds,—'I am just returned from the Spanish comedy. The theatre is painted with a muddy light blue, and a dirty yellow, without gilding, or any kind of ornament. The boxes are engaged by the season: and subscribers only, with their friends, admitted to them, paying a pesetta each. In the pit are the men, seated as in a great arm'd chair; the lower class stand behind these seats: above are the women; for the sexes are separated, and so strictly, that an officer was broke at Madrid, for intruding into the female places. The boxes, of course, hold family parties. The centre box, over the entrance of the pit, is appointed for the magistrates; covered in the front with red stuff, and ornamented with the royal arms. The motto is a curious one, "Silencio y no fumar.—Silence and no smoaking." The comedy, of course, was very dull to one who could not understand it. I was told that it contained some wit, and more obscenity; but the only comprehensible joke to me, was

"Ah!" said in a loud voice by one man, and "Oh!" replied equally loud by another, to the great amusement of the audience. To this succeeded a comic opera; the characters were represented by the most ill-looking man and woman I ever saw. The man's dress was a thread-bare brown coat lined with silk, that had once been white, and dirty corduroy waistcoat and breeches; his beard was black, and his neckcloth and shoes dirty:—but his face! Jack-ketch might sell the reversion of his fee for him, and be in no danger of defrauding the purchaser. A soldier was the other character, in old black velveret breeches; with a pair of gaiters reaching above the knee, that appeared to have been made out of some blacksmith's old leathern apron. A farce followed, and the hemp-stretch man again made his appearance; having blacked one of his eyes to look blind, M. observed that he looked better with one eye than with two; and we agreed, that the loss of his head would be an addition to his beauty. The prompter stands in the middle of the stage, about half way above it; before a little tin skreen, not unlike a man in a cheese-toaster. He read the whole play with the actors, in a tone of voice equally loud; and when one of the performers added a little of his own wit, he was so provoked as to abuse him aloud, and shake the book at him. Another prompter made his appearance to the opera, unshaved, and dirty beyond description: they both used as much action as the actors. The scene that falls between the acts would disgrace a puppet-show at an English fair; on one side is a hill, in size and shape like a sugar-loaf, with a temple on the summit, exactly like a watch-box; on the other Parnassus, with Pegasus striking the top in his flight, and so giving a source to the waters of Helicon: but, such is the proportion of the horse to the mountain, that you would imagine him to be only taking a flying leap over a large ant-hill; and think he would destroy the whole œconomy of the state, by kicking it to pieces. Between the hills lay a city: and in the air sits a duck-legged Minerva, surrounded by flabby Cupids. I could see the hair-dressing behind the scenes: a child was suffered to play on the stage, and amuse himself by sitting on the scene, and swinging backward and

forward, so as to endanger setting it on fire. Five chandeliers were lighted by only twenty candles. To represent night, they turned up two rough planks, about eight inches broad, before the stage lamps; and the musicians whenever they retired, blew out their tallow candles. But the most singular thing, is their mode of drawing up the curtain. A man climbs up to the roof, catches hold of a rope, and then jumps down; the weight of his body raising the curtain, and that of the curtain breaking his fall. I did not see one actor with a clean pair of shoes. The women wore in their hair a tortoise-shell comb to part it; the back of which is concave, and so large as to resemble the front of a small bonnet. This would not have been inelegant, if their hair had been clean and without powder, or even appeared decent with it. I must now to supper. When a man must diet on what is disagreeable, it is some consolation to reflect that it is wholesome; and this is the case with the wine: but the bread here is half gravel, owing to the soft nature of their grind-stones. Instead of tea, a man ought to drink Adam's solvent with his breakfast.

'*Wednesday.*] 'I met one of the actors this morning, equipped, as though he had just made his descent in full dress from the gibbet. The common apparel of the women is a black stuff cloak, that covers the head, and reaches about half way down the back: some wear it of white muslin; but black is the most common colour, and to me a very disagreeable one, as connecting the idea of dirt. The men dress in different ways; and, where there is this variety, no person is remarked as singular. I walked about in my sea-suit, without being taken notice of. There is, however, a very extraordinary race of men, distinguished by a leathern jacket, in its form not unlike the ancient cuirass—the maragatos or carriers. These people never intermarry with the other Spaniards, but form a separate race: they cut their hair close to the head, and sometimes leave it in tufts, like flowers. Their countenances express an openness which would be remarkable any where, and of course forms a striking contrast to the national physiognomy. Their character corresponds to this; for a maragato was never known to defraud, or even to loss any thing committed to his care.

'The churches here exhibit some curious specimens of Moorish architecture: but, as this is a fortified town, it is not safe to be seen with a pencil! A poor emigrant priest last year, walking just without the town gates, turned round to look at the prospect. He was observed, taken up on suspicion of a design to take plans of the fortifications, and actually sent away!

'I had a delightful walk this morning with the consul, among the rude scenery of Galicia:—little green lanes, between stony banks, and wild and rocky mountains; and, although I saw neither meadows, or hedges, or trees, I was too much occupied with the new and the sublime, to regret the beautiful. There were four stone crosses in one of the lanes. I had heard of these monuments of murder, and therefore suspected what they were. Yet I felt a sudden gloom, at reading upon one of them, "Here died Lorenzo, of Betanzos."

'We waited on the general of Galicia, to produce our passports, and obtain permission to travel with arms; for, without permission, no man is in this country allowed to carry the means of self-defence. I expected dignity and *hauter* in a Spanish grandee, but found neither the one nor the other. His palace is a paltry place; and the portraits of the king and queen in his state-room, would be thought indifferent sign-posts in England.

'One peculiarity of this country is, that in good houses no person inhabits the ground floor. A warehouse, a shop, or more generally a stable, is under every private dwelling-house. The consul's apartments are on the attic story; and when you ring the bell, the door is opened by a long string from above; like the "Open Sesame," in the Arabian Tales. We sat round a brazier, filled with wood embers; and occasionally revived the fire by a fan, made of thin chips; while one of the company played on the guitar; an instrument less disagreeable than most others to one who is no lover of music; because it is not loud enough to force his attention, when he is not disposed to give it.

'*Thursday night.*] 'About two o'clock this afternoon, we left Corunna in *a coach and six*. As we sit in the carriage,

our eyes are *above* the windows; which must, of course, be admirably adapted for seeing the country. Our six mules are harnessed only with ropes: the leaders and the middle pair are without reins; and the nearest reined only with ropes. The two muleteers, or more properly, the mayoral and zagal, either ride on a low kind of box, or walk. The mules know their names and obey the voice of their driver with astonishing docility: their heads are most gaily bedizened with tufts and hanging strings of blue, yellow, and purple worsted: each mule has sixteen bells; so that we travel more musically, and almost as fast, as a flying waggon. There are four reasons why these bells should be worn; two English reasons and two Spanish ones: they may be necessary in a dark night; and, where the roads are narrow, they give timely warning to other travellers: these are the English reasons. The Spaniards' motives for using them are, that the mules like the music; and that, as all the bells are marked with a crucifix, the devil cannot come within hearing of the consecrated peal.'

Our author walked to Betanzos where he took up his abode for the night. 'We are going,' says he, 'to sup on our English beef. They have brought us a vinegar vessel, about the size of a porter pot; excellently contrived for these two reasons; on account of the narrowness of its neck, it is impossible ever to clean it; and being of lead, it makes the vinegar sweet, and of course poisonous!

'On entering the room, we desired the boy to remove a vessel that did not scent it agreeably. So little idea had he that it was offensive, that he removed it from under the bed, only to place it in the closet!

'*Friday evening.*] 'At midnight we heard the arrival of a post from Madrid, who awoke the people of the house by cracking his whip. I cannot say he awoke me, for I, like Polonius, was at supper, not where I eat, but where I was eaten. The ingenious gentleman who communicated his discovery to the public, in the Encyclopædia, that ninety millions of mites' eggs, amount exactly to the size of one pigeon's egg, may if he please, calculate what quantity of blood was extracted from my body in the course of seven hours; the bed

being six feet two and a half, by four feet five, and as populous as possible in that given space.'

At Lugo our author has these reflections. 'Whatever may be the state of the human mind, the human body has certainly degenerated. We should sink under the weight of the armour our ancestors fought in, and out of one of their large and lofty rooms, I have seen a suite of apartments even spacious for their pigmy descendants. The "sons of little men," have taken possession of the world! I find no chair that has been made since the Restoration high enough for an evening nap; when I sit down to dinner, nine times out of ten I hurt my knees against the table; and I am obliged to contract myself, like one of the long victims of Procrustes, in almost every bed I sleep in! Such were the melancholy reflections of a tall man in a short bed.

'The Spanish women,' he observes, 'are certainly great admirers of muslin. They were very earnest here with M. to sell his neckloth. Buy, however, they could not, to beg they were ashamed, and so the next morning they stole my uncle's. Josepha took hold of my hair, asked me how I wore it in England, and advised me never to tie it or wear powder. I tell you this for two reasons, as an example that such whose tastes are not vitiated, dislike the absurd custom of plastering the head with grease, and then covering it with dust; and to shew you the familiar manners of the people. Before an English chamber-maid could have done this, she must have attained a degree of boldness, which would probably have been the effect of depravity: but in that country the familiarity of ignorant innocence can hardly escape the insults of pride or of licentiousness.

'The inhabitants of this peninsula are far advanced towards that period when all created beings shall fraternize. The muleteer sleeps by the side of his mule---the brotherly love of Sancho and Dapple may be seen in every hovel; and the horses, and the cows, and the cats, and the dogs, and the poultry, and the people, and the pigs, all inhabit the same apartment, not to mention three certain tribes of insects, for preserving of whom all travellers in Spain are but little obliged to Noah. The houses here are exactly like the representations

I have seen of the huts in Kamschatka. The thatch reaches to the ground, and there is a hole left in it which serves for the inhabitants to go in and the smoke to go out. The thatch is blackened with smoke and consequently no moss can grow there. The mountains in this part of Spain are in parts cultivated even to their summits; at this season there is plenty of water, and there are trenches cut in the cultivated lands to preserve it. Oaks, alders, poplars, and chesnut trees, are numerous in the valleys; and we saw the first vineyards. A lovely country, a paradise of nature: but the inhabitants are kept in ignorance and poverty, by the double despotism of their church and state! I saw a woman carrying a heavy burthen of wood on her head, which she had cut herself, and spinning as she walked along; a melancholy picture of industrious wretchedness.

'Three people passed us with wens, and I puzzled myself in vainly attempting to account for the connection between wens and mountains. I saw a calf walk into one of the houses, pushing by a woman at the door with a coolness that marked him for one of the family. The bee-hives here are made of part of the trunk of a tree hollowed, about three feet high, and covered with a slate. All the Spanish houses are without that little appendage which in England we think a necessary. An Englishman told me, that going behind a posada by moonlight, he saw one of these hollow pieces of wood covered with a slate, and congratulated himself that the people there were so far advanced as to have made such a convenience. Travellers of old, when they prepared for a journey, girded up their loins: he did the reverse, and was in a situation very unfit for making a speedy retreat when he took off the cover, and out came the bees upon him.

'We are now at Villa Franca. Never did I see a town so beautiful as we approached: but when we entered,---Oh the elegant cleanliness of Drury Lane! There is an old palace opposite the posada, of the duke of Alva, old and ruinous, and mean and melancholy as a parish workhouse in England. I stood for some time at the balcony, gazing at this place, where the most celebrated and most detestable of its possessors may perhaps have listened to the songs of Lope de Vega, per-

haps have meditated massacres in Holland. The mournful degradation of the Dutch, as well as of the Spanish character, forcibly occured to me, and I looked on with—I trust the prophetic eye of Hope, to the promised Brotherhood of Mankind, when Oppression and commerce shall no longer render them miserable by making them vicious.

'*Wednesday, Dec.* 23.] 'A young barber of Oviedo, travelling to Madrid to seek his fortune, has joined our party, and a very valuable acquisition he is. He waits on us, markets for us, assists us in cooking, shaves, bleeds, draws teeth, understands my Spanish, and has moreover one of the best physiognomies in Spain.

'At Ponferrada we found the posada pre-occupied by a marquis and his retinue. A pleasant incident, for the axle-tree was damaged, and to proceed of course impossible. Luckily the marquis departed, and here we are still detained.—Opposite to our balcony is the house of some hidalgo, with whom five ladies are just arrived to dine in an open cart, drawn by oxen. They wear their hair combed straight, parted on the forehead, and tied loosely in the middle behind.

'Day and night are we annoyed by the incessant noise of the mules; by night they are under us—we are only separated from the stable by planks laid across the beams,

"And sounds and stinks come mingled from below."

'By day the mayoral is continually calling out to his mules: he gallops over the two first syllables of their name, and dwells upon the two last with a sound as slow and as wearying as the motion of his own carriage. "Aqui*leia*—Capit*ana*—Gall*ega*—malditas mulas!" Then he consigns them to three hundred devils, the exact number they always swear by; calls them thieves, pick-pockets, and concludes the climax of vituperation by "alma de muerda," which is, being interpreted, the soul of what the Laputan philosopher could never transmute again into bread and cheese. Sometimes he beats them furiously, and frequently flings a great stone at their heads.

'*Thursday, Dec.* 24.] 'We left Ponferrada this morning, and our newly mended axle-tree—lasted us almost three miles.

The descent was steep—the road bad—and the coach crazy. Luckily we were all walking when it broke down. The mayoral invoked the Virgin Mary to help him, and three hundred devils to carry off the coach; he however soon found it more useful to go for human assistance, while we amused ourselves by walking backward and forward on a cold, bleak, desolate heath, with only one object in view, and that—a monumental cross. In about two hours we advanced a mile to the village of St. Miguel de las Duenas. Here there is no posada, and we are therefore at the house of the barber. Where we are to sleep I know not, for our host's daughter and her husband sleep in the kitchen, and in this, the only other room, the barber, his wife, and child!

'The only face for which I have conceived any affection in Spain, is a dried pig's, in the kitchen below, and alas! this a a hopeless passion!

'*Christmas day, six o'clock in the evening.*] 'In the cold and comfortless room of a posada, having had no dinner but what we made in the coach, fatigued, and out of spirits, a pleasant situation! I have been walking above three hours up this immense mountain; very agreeable no doubt for the goats who browze in the vallies, and the lizards and wolves who inhabit the rest of it! We slept last night in the room with the barber, his wife, and child. At midnight they all went to cock-mass. At day-break I had the pleasure of wishing my fellow-travellers a merry Christmas.

'*Baneza, Saturday, Dec.* 26.] 'We have passed over a bleak and desolate track of barrenness this morning, near the cavern of Gil Blas. Never was there a more convenient place to be murdered in, and eleven monumental crosses, which I counted within three leagues, justified my opinion of its physiognomy. We stopped two hours at Astorga, once the capital of the Asturias, but Oviedo holds that rank at present, and this is now a city of Leon.

'Here I expected to live well. Gil Blas had fared luxuriously at Astorga; we heard of a cook's shop; Manuel was appointed commissioner to examine the state of provisions, and his report was, that we might have half a turkey and a

leg of mutton just dressed, for a dollar. If the queen's birthday may be put off six months, why might not we keep Christmas-day on the twenty-sixth of December, and dine orthodoxly on Turkey? When these dainties arrived—for the poor bird, Vitellius would have

> "Made the wicked master cook
> In boiling oil to stand;"

and for the mutton, I vehemently suspect it to have been the leg of some little ugly bandy-legged tough-sinewed turnspit.

'I saw families actually living in holes dug in the castle wall. *Almost* I regret the Moors: what has this country gained by their expulsion? A tolerant and cleanly superstition has been exchanged for the filth and ferocity of monks, and the dogma of Mary's immaculate conception has taken place of the divine legation of Mohammed. To say that the courts of Cordova and Grenada exhibited more splendour than that of Madrid, were only to shew them superior in what is of little worth; but when were the arts so fostered? when were the people so industrious and so happy?

'We arrived at Benevente too late to see the inside of the castle. In the corner of my room are placed two trestles: four planks are laid across these, and support a straw-stuffed mattress of immense thickness; over this is another as disproportionately thin, and this is my bed. The seat of my chair is as high as the table I write upon. A lamp hangs upon the door. Above us are bare timbers; for as yet I have seen no cielings in Spain. The floor is tiled. Such are the comfortable accommodations we meet with after travelling from the rising to the setting sun. We have however a brazier here, the first I have seen since our departure from Corunna. I am used to the vermin: to be *flead* is become the Order of the Night, and I submit to it with all due resignation. Of the people—extreme filth and deplorable ignorance are the most prominent characteristics; yet there is a civility in the peasantry which Englishmen do not possess, and I feel a pleasure when the passenger accosts me with the usual benediction, "God be with you."

'There is a mud wall round the town. Here I first saw people dancing in the streets with castanets. Our landlady told us there was an English merchant in the house, his name Don Francisco, and this proved to be a German pedlar, with a ring on every finger. Some of the churches here are fine specimens of early Saxon architecture. In the church wall are too crosses, composed of human sculls with thigh bones for the pedestal, fixed on a black ground.

'We crossed the Duero at Tordesillas by a noble bridge. One of the Latin historians says, that the water of this river made the Roman soldiers, who drank of them, melancholy; and if they drank nothing else, we may believe him. I lost my hat at this place; 'twas little matter: it had been injured on the voyage, and sent tc be pulchrified at Corunna, who sent it home without binding, or lining, or dressing, having washed it, thickened it, altered its shape, and made it good for nothing, all which he did for one pasetta. We proceeded four leagues to Medina del Campo, passing through the half-way town of Ruada. In the streets there are several bridges over the mire for foot passengers, formed of large stones, about eighteen inches high and two feet asunder, which are left unconnected that carriages may pass. The dress of the men is almost universally brown; the female peasantry love gaudier colours, blue and green are common among them, but they dress more generally in red and yellow. I saw an infant at Astorga, whose cap was shaped like a grenadier's, and made of blue and red plush.

'At Aribaca I saw the laws to which all inn-keepers are subject. By one they are obliged to give a daily account to some magistrate of what persons have been in their posada, their names, their conduct, and their conversation. By another, if any man of suspicious appearance walks by the posada, they must inform a magistrate of it, on pain of being made answerable for any mischief he may do!

'We were now only five miles from the great city. The approach to Madrid is very beautiful. The number of towers, the bridge of Segovia, and the palace, give it an appearance of grandeur, which there are no suburbs to destroy, and a fine

poplar-planted walk by the river, adds an agreeable variety to the scene. A few scattered and miserable hovels, about a mile or mile and half from the walls, lie immediately in view of the palace, so wretched that some of them are only covered with old blankets and old mats. His majesty might have more pleasant objects in view, but I know of none that can convey to him such useful meditations.

'The most singular and novel appearance to me was that of innumerable women kneeling side by side to wash in the Manzanares, the banks of which for about two miles were covered with linen. It seemed as though all the inhabitants of Madrid had like us just concluded a long journey, and that there had been a general foul-clothes-bag delivery.

'We are at the Cruz de Malta, a perfect paradise, after travelling seventeen days in Spain. To be sure, four planks laid across two iron trustles, are not quite so elegant as an English four-post beadstead, but they are easily kept clean, and to that consideration every other should be sacrificed. At tea they brought us the milk boiling in a tea-pot.

'My uncle has offered to take Manuel on to Lisbon as a servant; but Manuel is ambitious of being a barber, and wishes to try his fortune in the shaving line at Madrid. His professional pride was not a little gratified when one of the fraternity took us in at St. Miguel de las Duenas; and as he left the house he asked me with an air of triumph, if we had any such barbers as that senor in England!

'Concerning the city and its buildings, the manners of the people, their Tertullas and their Cortejo system, you will find enough in twenty different authors. What pleases me most is to see the city entirely without suburbs: it is surrounded by a wall and the moment you get within the gates, the prospect before presents nothing that can possibly remind you of the vicinity of a metropolis. The walking is very unpleasant, as the streets are not paved: the general fault of the streets is their narrowness. In one of them it was with difficulty I kept myself so near the wall as to escape being crushed by a carriage; a friend of M. had a button on his breast torn off by a

carriage in the same place: accidents must have been frequent here, for it is called, The narrow street of dangers.

'This very unpleasant defect is observable in all the towns we have passed through. It is easily accounted for. All these towns were originally fortified, and houses were crowded together for security within the walls. As the houses are generally high, this likewise keeps them cool, by excluding the sun; and a Spaniard will not think this convenience counterbalanced by the preventing a free circulation of air. The senses of a foreigner are immediately offended by dirt and darkness; but the Spaniard does not dislike the one, and he connects the idea of coolness with the other. From the charge of dirt, however, Madrid must now be acquitted, and the grand street, the Calle de Alcala, is one of the finest in Europe. The prado (the public walk) crosses it at the bottom, and it is terminated by an avenue of trees, with one of the city gates at the end.

'Of Spanish beauty I have heard much and say little. There is indeed a liquid lusture in the full black eye, that most powerfully expresses languid tenderness. But it is in this expression only that very dark eyes are beautiful: you do not distinguish the pupil from the surrounding part, and of course lose all the beauty of its dilation and contraction. The dress both of men and women is altogether inelegant. The old Spanish dress was more convenient and very graceful.

'We are now in private lodgings, for which we pay twenty-four reals a day. The rooms are painted in the theatrical taste of the country, and would be cheerful if we had but a fire-place. You will hardly believe that, though this place is very cold in winter, the Spanish landlords will not suffer a chimney to be built in their houses! They have a proverb to express the calmness and keenness of the air.—"The wind will not blow out a candle, but it will kill a man." I have heard that persons who incautiously exposed themselves to the wind before they were completely dressed, have been deprived of the use of their limbs.

'This is an unpleasant town; the necessaries of life are extravagantly dear; and the comforts are not to be procured. I hear from one who must be well acquainted with the people, that "there is neither friendship, affection, or virtue among them!" A woman of rank, during the absence of her husband, has been living at the hotel with another man! and yet she is received into every company. I ought to add she is not a Spaniard, but in England adultery meets the infamy it deserves.

'The king set off to the frontiers of Portugal on Monday last; his retinue on this journey consists of seven thousand persons; and so vain is his most Catholic majesty of this parade, that he has actually had a list of his attendants printed on a paper larger than any map or chart you ever saw, and given to all the grandees in favour. We were in hopes of securing a carriage through the marquis Yrandas's interest. The intelligence he gives us is very unfavourable to men who are in haste. The court will not be less than fifteen days on the road with us; no interest can secure us a carriage; and if we can get one to set out, it will probably be taken from us on the way by some of their retinue; and there is no accommodation at the posadas, for, independant of the common attendants, six hundred people of rank were obliged to lie in the open air the first night; nor can we go a different road without doubling the distance; for were we to attempt to enter Portugal by Ciudad Rodrigo, and the province of Tras os Montes, if the rains which are daily expected should overtake us, the mountain torrents would be impassable.

'Mambrino's account of the cat-eating is confirmed: I was playing with one last night, and the lady told me she was obliged to confine her in the house lest the neighbours should steal and eat her.

'While we were at the palace, the king sent home a cart load of horns to ornament it. A singular ornament, when the shameless conduct of his wife is the topic of general censure. Malespini, the circumnavigator (whose honourable boast is that he has done no evil on his voyage) has been imprisoned about six weeks on suspicion of being concerned in a French book exposing the private life of the queen. What

must that woman be who is detested for her depravity in a metropolis where the Cortejo system is so universal? About two years ago the washerwomen of Madrid were possessed with a spirit of sedition, and they insulted her majesty in the streets.—"You are wasting your money upon your finery and your gallants—while we are in want of bread!"

'When it is said that this metropolis is in the centre of the peninsula, all its advantages are enumerated: except when swollen by the mountain snows the Manzanares is so shallow that if a cockle should attempt to navigate it, he must inevitably run aground. In summer the heat is intolerable, in winter the cold is very severe; for the soil round the city produces nitre in great abundance, and the Guadarama mountains are covered with snow; so that you have the agreeable alternative of being starved for want of a fire, or suffocated by the fumes of charcoal. The floors here are all covered with matting, and the matting is prodigiously populous in fleas.

'*Monday* 11*th.*] 'Last night I was at a Fiesta de Novillos, a bullock fight, at which about fifteen thousand persons were assembled, many of them women, and indeed more women of apparent rank than I had seen either at the theatre or the opera. In this very rational recreation, the bullocks are only teazed, and as their horns are tipped the men only get bruised. A bullock was led into the area, and the heroes amused themselves by provoking him, then running away and leaping over the boundary. But the two principal heroes were each of them in a basket which came up to his shoulders, this he could lift up from the ground, and move along in it towards the bull, then he sticks a dart in the bull, and pops down in the basket which the beasts knock down, to the infinite delight of fifteen thousand spectators! Once he tossed the man in the basket, and once put his horns in at one end and drove him out at the other. When one bull was done with, some tame cattle were driven in, and he followed them out. Four were thus sucessively teazed, but a more barbarous sport followed. A wild boar was turned in to be baited. Most of the dogs were afraid to attack so formidable an enemy, and the few who had courage or folly enough were dreadfully mangled by his tusks. His

boarship remained unhurt, and after maiming every dog who attacked him, was suffered to go to his den. The remainder of the entertainment consisted in turning in bullocks one at a time among the mob. They provoked the beast, and the beast bruised them; and I was glad to see that the advantage lay on the side of the most respectable brute.

'All the children here have their hair tied. The children are men in their dress, and the men children in their understanding. The waistcoats are generally laced before instead of being fastened with buttons. In many parts of the country the sleeves of the coat lace on, and there are two openings left, one at the elbow and one at the bend of the arm within. We have frequently seen undressed skins used as sandals. In Leon the soles of the shoes are wood, and the *upper leathers* made of *hemp*.

'To-morrow morning we leave Madrid; the court has now preceded us ten days; they have eat every thing before them, and we ought to wait for a new generation of fowls and turkies. A journey in Spain is never an agreeable undertaking to look on to; but however we begin to know the value of bad beds and bad provisions, when we are in danger of getting none. His majesty travels fast: three of his guards have been killed, and four seriously hurt, by galloping before his coach. They suffered less during the war.

'I must not forget to give you a curious proof of Spanish ingenuity. There is a fire-place in one of the apartments of the English ambassador: he had ordered the chimney to be swept, and coming into the room found three masons, with pick-axes, &c. preparing to make a hole in the wall!

'*Wednesday, Jan.* 13.] 'At eight o'clock yesterday morning we made our escape from Madrid, and repassed the bridge of Segovia. We travel in a calessa with two mules; a carriage of the same kind, though more elegant in name and less so in appearance than an English buggey. Our larder consists of a large undressed loin of pork, two hams, and a quieso de puerco, or pork cheese, which is tolerable brawn. As we follow the royal family so close, we were in expectation of excellent roads, but tho' the roads were smoothed for them, the multitudes of

their retinue have made them infinitely worse than they were before. Two leagues and a half from Madrid is Mostoles. Here we took a cold dinner, and I visited the church, which Duten speaks of as remarkably elegant. It well repaid my visit; but the most remarkable things there were four mirrors, each with a figure of some heathen deity ground on it. I thought Diana and Mercury odd personages to be pictured in a Catholic chapel.

'The house at Valmojado is very miserable; they had neither a cloth to wipe our hands, or a blanket to cover us. The woman appeared at least seventy. She told us she was but eight and forty, but added that she had much trouble in her time, "*mucho trabajo!*"

'We passed through Santa Olalla, and made our halt for the night at the village of Bravo, after a journey of eight leagues. We are now going to sit down to pork chops and fried onions, a pretty cool supper! but supper is our grand meal. A cup of chocolate by lamp-light is but a comfortless breakfast, and in the middle of the day we make our halt as short as possible, in order to get in early in the evening. The want of vegetables is a serious evil. Our food is very heating, and this with the fatigue of travelling occasions a feverish thirst at night.

'We are obliged to superintend the cooking ourselves, or these people would scorch the meat to a cinder. Some person asked Mambrino at Madrid, how he lived upon the road? He replied, "Very well, but the cavaliers eat their meat almost raw."

'I was curious enough to measure at what height from the ground they had hung their looking glasses here: it was nine feet, and as all that I have yet seen are hung equally high, we may acquit the Spanish women of vanity. In a church porch here is a large picture of St. Christopher, carrying Christ over the water, and a bishop is waiting to receive him on the bank. This legend reminds me of what I heard of the present king of Spain at Madrid: whenever he hears the Devil mentioned, he is so terrified that he crosses himself and says his prayers.

'There are no candles in this country. A piece of cane cut with holes through it, is suspended from the roof, and from one of these holes the lamp is hung by a hook. We have seen no bolster since we left England, and alas! we have now bade adieu to the land of blankets!

'The pepper of all this country is red. Apollyon could not find a better kind of nutmeg for a cool tankard of aqua-fortis.

'*Saturday.*] 'We are now following the court closely, and never did I witness a more melancholy scene of devastation! His most Catholic majesty travels like the king of the gypsies: his retinue strip the country, without paying for any thing, sleep in the woods, and burn down the trees. We found many of them yet burning: the hollow of a fine old cork-tree served as a fire-place. The neighbouring trees were destroyed for fuel, and were a brisk wind even now to spring up, the forest might be in flames. Mules, and horses, and asses lie dead along the road, and though they do not cry aloud in our ears against the barbarity of thus destroying them by excessive fatigue, yet they address themselves strongly to another sense. The king is very fond of inscriptions. Not a ditch along the road has been bridged without an inscription beginning, "*Reinando Carlos* IV." I feel very much inclined to indulge in a placard upon one of the mutilated old trees.

'Leaving the forest we entered upon a swampy plain, where, as Dutens says, the road became truly detestable. It is a stage of three hours and a half to Almaraz, a singular little town, where the houses seem built for pigmies and the church for Patagonians. Less than a league distant runs the Tagus, crossed by a noble bridge of two arches. On the bridge are the remains of a house; all we can read of the inscription told us it was made by the city of Plasencia, under Charles V.

'This is a very large house with very vile accommodations. The covered space thro' which we enter, where the calessa stands, and where the carriers sleep among their baggage, is seventy feet by twenty-five. My bedstead is supported by sticks from which the bark has never been stripped. The beds are bad, and the court have dirtied all the linen. Here

is a print of St. Iago on horseback, most apostolically cleaving down a Turk.'

Our travellers proceeded, and Mr. Southey remarks, when they 'entered the village Puerto de Santa Cruz, where we dined, the people came round us to know if we were the cavaliers come to pay the king's debts. Here we bought a very favourite and indeed a very excellent dish of the Spaniards; it is lean pork highly seasoned with garlic, and steeped in red wine.

'If the king of Spain have one solitary spark of sense glimmering in the dark lantern of his head, he must be seriously grieved to behold the wretched state of his dominions. Fancy cannot conceive a more delightful climate. Here is wine to gladden the heart of man, corn to support him, and oil to make him of a cheerful countenance.

'We travel leagues without seeing a village, and when we find one, it consists of such sties as are fit only for the pig part of the family. As for the towns it is not possible to give an Englishman ideas of their extreme poverty and wretchedness. You may conceive the state of the kingdom by this circumstance, we have now travelled six hundred miles without ever seeing one new house or one single one.

'*Tuesday* 19.] 'We slept at Miajadas last night; here as usual we were entertained with complaints of the court. The girl told us that the king's train had broken five glasses in one evening. "And did they pay for them?" "Pay for them! the cursed gang! not a maravedi."—The room we were in was arched like a cellar, and we descended two steps to enter it: it was so damp that I concluded any vermin that had accidentally dropt there must have caught cold and died of an asthma. I was lamentably mistaken.

'I wish some sudden business would recall the king immediately to Madrid, that he might find what kind of roads his subjects were obliged to travel, every august bone in his body would ache before he got half way. They were levelled for his journey, and every person obliged to whitewash the front of his house, that his majesty might witness the cleanliness of his subjects!

'The marquis de Conquista passed us on the road, escorting the camaressa of the queen to the court, a beautiful woman who had been detained by indisposition at his seat near Truxillo. Two men rode by the coach singing to her as she went along. This made the road cheerful and agreeable, but alas! we suffered for it at night!

'Descended from Lobon we skirted the plain for two leagues to Talaveruela, a large and miserable place. Here the marquis had pre-occupied the house, and we could only procure a most deplorable room, with a hole above the roof to admit light as if up a chimney. It was long before we could procure chairs or table. Here we dressed ourselves to pass the courts and custom-houses to-morrow, and a most curious scene did our dressing-room exhibit; it was not possible to procure a looking-glass to shave by! They spread beds for us on mats upon the floor. The roof was of cane, and the rats running over it in the night shook down the dirt on our heads. I lay awake the whole night killing the musquitoes as they settled on my face, while the inhabitants of the bed entertained themselves so merrily at my expence, that Sangrado himself would have been satisfied with the bleeding which I underwent.

'We travelled two leagues over a flat and unpleasant country, which, Colmenar says, is sometimes so infested by grasshoppers that the king is obliged to send a body of men to burn them. Badajos, the frontier town, then appeared at the distance of a league, with its fort; and three leagues beyond, the Portuguese town of Elvas, and fort La Lippe. A regiment of cavalry is encamped under the walls: the men indeed are in tents, but the horses have no shelter; and the rains are daily expected. At every gate of the fortifications we were examined, and delay to us was not only unpleasant but dangerous, lest the calessa should be embargoed. We drove to the custom-house, and if ever I were to write a mock heroic descent to the infernal regions, I would not forget to make the adventurer pass through one of these agreeable establishments. There is a heavy and oppressive duty laid on money here; a traveller will of course carry as little Spanish gold into Portu-

gal as possible, for it is of no use to him on the road, and he will lose thirty per cent. by the exchange.

'About a league beyond runs a rivulet that separates the two kingdoms. The royal tent of Portugal is pitched on the bank, and a wooden bridge built for the meeting exactly where carriages used to ford the stream. But vulgar wheels must not profane the bridge which shall be trod by the august hoofs of their sacred majesties horses! and we were obliged to pass the water where it was so deep as to wet our baggage.

'Here all was gaiety, and glad to have escaped from Spain, we partook of the gaiety of the scene. Booths were erected: the courtiers passing from one town to the other, and crowds from both thronging to see the royal tent. Yet even here when the two courts are about to meet on such very uncommon terms of friendship, the national prejudices are evident. Manuel bought some oranges for us; he was within ten yards of Spain, and you may conceive his astonishment when they abused him for being a Spaniard.

'Our hurry at Badajos allowed us no time to dine: here we fell to our brawn and bread and cheese, with the comfortable feeling of being near home. My uncle entered into conversation with a Portuguese officer who wished himself a general that he might have the pleasure of giving no quarter to the French: "Cruel dogs, said he, to make war upon the church! Look at this bridge, he cried, each nation built half, but I need not tell you which half the Portuguese built: they do every thing well! so strong---so durable! it will last for ever! As for the Spanish part (and he lifted up his eyebrows as he spoke) the first rain will sweep it away!" The Spaniards are not inferior in rhodomontade and national prejudices; one of them after passing through the tent, which contains a suite of eight handsome rooms, beside the bed-chambers, turned round with a sneer, "We have better apartments for the pigs in Spain!" No passion makes a man a liar so easily as vanity.

'*Friday.*] 'Colonel M. an Englishman in the Portuguese service, procured us a room in the house where he himself lodged at Elvas, and we enjoyed the novelty of tea and toast and butter. Some of the Portuguese nobility dropped in

the evening. The conversation turned upon the Spanish court, and it was remarked that the queen of Spain had her Cortejo with her. Yes, it was replied, and a certain noble family accompanies the court, because you know the king cannot do without a wife.

'The night was very tempestuous; the doors and windows were like Mr. Shandy's, and clattered with the wind. We breakfasted early, and left Elvas in a wet morning. Fort La Lippe, which is deemed impregnable, lies on a high hill, to the right. We passed under a very fine aqueduct of four rows of arches. The country is beautifully varied, but we were obliged to let down the apron of the calessa, and could only walk between the storms.

'If Anaxagoras had travelled the two leagues from this place to Estremos, he would have thought pounding in a mortar comfortable by comparison. The best apartment here is occupied, and we are in a lumber room, where an old chest serves us as a table. There is a picture here of a sick man in bed and the virgin in the air praying for him. The inscription says that our lady saved the life of Antonio Sardinho, in 1761.

'The Portuguese estalagems are perhaps better than the Spanish posadas. The beds here, instead of being made on bedsteads, are placed on a kind of stair or platform raised about eight inches from the floor. We have seen no candles since we left Madrid, but the lamps improve as we approach Lisbon. Here it has three branches as usual; an eye-screen projects before two of them, and a little extinguisher, a pointed instrument to raise the wick, and a small pincers to prune it, all of brass, are suspended by brazen chains between the branches.

'Here we witnessed the whole process of dressing Joze's rabbit. The spit was placed either above, below, by the side of, or in the fire: to know when it was done they crack'd the joints? they then laid it by till it cooled, then tore it piecemeal with their fingers, and fried it with onions, and garlic, and oil.

'They say turnspits run away whenever they hear the word *wheel*, and I believe I shall soon have the same antipathy.

We left Montemor after dinner merrily, in expectation of reaching Aldea Gallega to-morrow night. It was a bad sign to to stop half an hour while the calessero tied the spokes together; however we might certainly have safely reached the end of the stage with care. I have long been in doubt which is the more obstinate beast, the old mule or the old muleteer—the four-legged one is the more rational. Joze, as usual, left the beasts to their own guidance, and the grey mule, as usual, chose a dry path for himself; this path unluckily lay down the bank, and the crazy wheel gave way. The old gentlemen who had very quietly suffered the mule to do this mischief, now threw his hat upon the ground, and was guilty of heresy, in asserting the mule had a soul; that he might commit blasphemy by assigning it over to the everlasting care of three hundred devils. Alas! we were upon a wide heath, and not one solitary imp appeared to help us. Here my uncle and I passed no very agreeable tete-a-tete from five till seven, in a dark cloudy evening, till the calessero returned with two men and a cart-wheel, with which we contrived to go back two miles to the Ventas Silveyras, the most filthy and miserable hovel to which our ill fortune has yet conducted us.

'At Ventas Silveyras as usual we met no blankets; and as they were likewise without sheets, we of course lay down in our clothes. Never did I behold so horrible a woman as the hostess there; her face in its happiest moments expressed sullen and brutal ferocity; when roused into anger, which happened upon every slight occasion (for evil tempers take fire like rotten wood) it was that of a fury or a fiend. When we asked what was to pay, this woman enumerated the articles to her husband, "they had pepper," she began—"they had salt—they had onions." Here we began our protest—"no onions." "They had pepper," said she again,—"they had salt—they had the room—they had beds:" "Without sheets or blankets," we added, "and they had oil."

'As we sat by the kitchen fire this evening, a Portuguese chose to entertain us by relating his history. "I was on board a ship when I was young," said he, "but I quarrelled with another boy; he struck me with a stick, and I stabbed

him with a penknife, and ran away." The man related this with the most perfect coolness. A great black-bearded fellow made our beds here---the ugliest hound I ever saw by way of a chamber-maid.

'A little before we reached Aldea Gallega is the church of Nossa Senhora da Atalaya, where we passed a Romeria. When a foolish man or woman, or any of their children is sick, the sick person, or the parent makes a vow, in case of recovery, to return thanks to the virgin, or whatever saint has been *called in* upon the occasion, at some church, and the more distant the church, the more meritorious is the pilgrimage, or Romeria. All their neighbours who are bigotted or idle enough to accompany them join the procession, and they collect the rabble from every village that they pass; for the expences of the whole train are paid by the person who makes the vow. The one we passed consisted of eight covered carts full, and above an hundred men, women, and children, on horseback, on mule-back, on ass-back, and on foot. Whenever they approached a town or village, they announced their arrival by letting off rockets. Bag-pipes and drums preceded them, and men and women, half undressed, danced before them along the road. Most of the men were drunk, and many of the women had brought little infants upon this absurd and licentious expedition.

'The image of our Lady of Atalaya was found on the top of a tree, which said tree from that time has distilled a balsam of miraculous medicinal powers. In September the negroes have a fete at this place which is continued for several days.

'We were fortunate enough to procure a boat immediately; and after a rough and unpleasant passage of two hours landed at Lisbon. I rejoiced at finding myself upon terra firma, and at five o'clock in the morning I was awakened by an earthquake!

'On my passage I was tossed about by the winds and waves, on the road I suffered much for want of fire, and I arrived at Lisbon just in time to hear the house crack over my head in an earthquake. This is the seventh shock that has been felt since the first of November. They had a smart shock on the 17th of this month, but the connoisseurs in earthquakes say,

that this last, though of shorter duration, was the most dangerous, for this was the perpendicular shake, whereas the other was the undulatory motion. One person whom I heard of leapt out of bed, and ran immediately to the stable to ride off. Another, more considerately, put out a light that was burning in his room, because (said he) the fire does more mischief than the earthquake.

'A German was invited by an English family here to take *pot luck* for dinner. He would eat no roast beef, no turkey, all the dishes passed him untouched. "I do vait for dat excellent pote loock," said he. You are in great danger of meeting with pot-luck if you walk these streets by night. Even if you escape *extreme unction*, announces another danger; there are an astonishing number of dogs here who belong to nobody and annoy every body: these animals fortunately devour great part of what is discharged from the windows, and no sooner do they hear the fall than they run towards it from all quarters, and will nearly throw down the person who is unluckily in their way. The rats, who live among the old ruins, come to partake of the banquet, for these animals live together on the most friendly terms. Many of these dogs have their ears erect.

'The filth of this city is indeed astonishing; every thing is thrown into the street; and all the refuse of the kitchen, and dead animals are exposed to these scorching suns. I believe these Portuguese would throw one another out, and "leave the dead to bury the dead," if it were not the interest of the priests to prevent them.

'In wet weather the streets of Lisbon are very disagreeable: if you walk under the houses you are drenched by the water-spouts; if you attempt the middle, there is a torrent; would you go between the two, there is a dunghill. When it rains hard some of the streets are like rivers: I have seen the water rushing down the Rua San Bento more than three feet deep. While the stream does not yet fill up the way, some of the more considerate people make a kind of bridge over it, by placing a plank on two blocks or barrels: and at the most frequent crossings the Gallegos stand to carry people across; but sometimes this is impossible, the tide rushes with such

force that no person can stem it. Carriages have been overturned by it in the Rua San Bento, which collects the rain from several hills, and it is not long since a woman was drowned there.

'A man of well cultivated mind will seldom find a woman equal to him while the present execrable system of female education prevails; however if he does not find equality he can make it: woman is a more teachable animal than man: but when the man is inferior to his wife, ignorance, conceit, and obstinacy, form an indivisible trinity in unity, which will for ever prevent his improvement.

'Every person here is musical: but it is the mere mechanism of music that they cultivate, which the Spartans so wisely condemned in Timotheus. Your musical amateurs of the present day are accurate with their ears and nimble with their fingers, but there is no harmony in their hearts. They are in raptures at the unmeaning and unmanly quavers of the Italian, but they feel not the sad and simple ballad strains where sense and sound are united. "Music," said Owen Feltham, "being but a sound, only works on the mind for the present, and leaves it not reclaimed but rapt for a while, and then it returns, forgetting the only ear-deep warbles."

'Almost every man in Spain smokes; the Portuguese never smoke, but most of them take snuff. None of the Spaniards will use a wheel-barrow, none of the Portuguese carry a burthen: the one says it is only fit for beasts to draw carriages, the other that it is only fit for beasts to carry burthens. All the porters in Lisbon are Gallegos, an industrious and honest race, despised by both nations for the very qualities that render them respectable. When my uncle lived at Porto, he wanted his servant to carry a small box to the next house; the man said he was a Portuguese, not a beast; and actually walked a mile for a Gallego to carry the box.

'If you walk the streets of Lisbon by night, it is not only necessary to know the way, but to be well acquainted with all the windings of the little channel that runs between the shoals and mud banks. There are no public lamps lighted except before the image of a saint; and if you have a flambeau

carried before you, you are sometimes pelted by persons who do not wish to be seen. I know an Englishman who has been thus obliged to extinguish his light.

'One of the English residents found the lamp at his door so frequently broken, that at last he placed a saint behind it; the remedy was efficacious, and it has remained safely from that time under the same protection. It is pleasant to meet with one of these *enlightened* personages, for they are indeed lights shining in darkness.

'But the streets of Lisbon are infested by another nuisance more intolerable than the nightly darkness, or their eternal dirt, the beggars. I never saw so horrible a number of wretches made monstrous by nature, or still more monstrous by the dreadful diseases that their own vices have contracted. You cannot pass a street without being sickened by some huge tumor, some mishapen member, or uncovered wound, carefully exposed to the public eye. These people should not be suffered to mangle the feelings and insult the decency of the passenger: if they will not accept the relief of the hospital, they should be compelled to endure the restraint of the prison.

'This city is supplied only from hand to mouth; in bad weather when the boats cannot pass from Alentego, the markets are destitute; a few days ago there was no fuel to be procured. The provisions here are in general good, and of late years they have introduced the culture of several English vegetables. It is not twenty years since a cauliflower was a pretty present from England, and the person who received it made a feast; it is now one of the best productions of the Portuguese garden. The potatoe does not succeed here. Mutton is the worst meat they have; a leg of mutton is a very agreeable present from Falmouth, but the other passengers generally conspire against it, summon a court martial on false suspicions, produce the accused, whose appearance produces a sentence of condemnation.

'Every kind of vermin that exists to punish the nastiness and indolence of men, multiplies in the heat and dirt of Lisbon. From the worst and most offensive of these, cleanliness may preserve the English resident; but Apollo might

have saved himself the trouble of fleaing Marsyas if he had condemned him to walk these streets! The musquitoe is a more formidable enemy; if you read at night in summer, it is necessary to wear boots. The scolopendra is not uncommonly found here, and snakes are frequently seen in the bed-chamber. I know a lady who after searching a long time for one that had been discovered in her apartment, seen the reptile wreathed round the serpentine fluting of the bed-post.

'Lisbon is likewise infested by a very small species of red ant that swarm over every thing sweet; the Portuguese remedy is to send for a priest and exorcise them. The superstition of this people in an age of incredulity is astonishing: about sixteen years ago one of the royal musicians here died in the odour of sanctity; though if the body of the dead gentleman did emit a delightful fragrance, it is more than any of his living countrymen do. When the image of the virgin Mary is carried through the streets, some of the devout think they catch her eyes, and exclaim in rapture, "Oh! she looked at me—the blessed virgin looked at me!"

'We had a little snow on the 29th of February. A Portuguese clerk, who was going out on business when it began, refused to leave the counting-house, because he did not understand that kind of weather. It is fourteen years since the last snow fell at Lisbon. Dr. H. was in his chaise when it began, the driver leapt off: you may get home how you can, said he, as for my part I must make the best use I can of the little time this world will last, and away he ran into the next church.

'One of the Irish priests here preached a sermon in English a few days ago: it was extempore, and like most extempore sermons, consisted of a little meaning expressed in every possible variety of indifferent language. In the middle of his discourse the orator knelt down, the congregation knelt with him, and he besought St. Patrick to inspire him; but alas! either he was talking or sleeping, or peradventure St. Patrick was in Ireland, for the sermon went on as stupidly as before.

'When I first found myself in a land of strangers whose conversation presented nothing to me but a confusion of unintelligible sounds, I was frequently tempted to execrate the

builders of Babel. The very dogs could not understand English: if I said "*poor fellow*," the four legged Spaniard growled at me; if I whistled, even that was a foreign language, and I was obliged to address the cat in Spanish, for *Miz* knew not the meaning of Puss. I now can read the two languages with ease, and call for the common necessaries; all beyond this is of little consequence to me: but I have learnt to converse with the cats and dogs, always my favourite companions, for I love the honesty of the one and the independence of the other.

'This country is supplied with corn from Barbary; and that at so low a rate, that the farmers do not find it worth their while to bring their grain to market. I am informed that the harvest of last year is not yet begun upon. They cannot grind the Barbary corn in England: it is extremely hard, and the force and velocity of English mills reduce the husk as well as the grain to powder. They apprehended that the fault lay in the grindstones, and accordingly sent for some from Lisbon; but the advice which they received at the same time was of more importance;---it was to damp the corn before they ground it, and thus the bran would be prevented from pulverizing.

'A Moor of distinction, who is now in Lisbon, was lately struck with the beauty of an English lady, and made a formal proposal to *buy* her of her mother! How do we revolt from appearances, instead of from realities! A proposal to *buy* her daughter, would shock any European parent: but, if a man of superior rank, or superior fortune, offered himself, though his intellect were of idiot imbecility, and his body rendered decrepid by debauchery, would there be the same horror entertained at *selling* her.

'Pombal ordered all the churches here to be built like houses, that they might not spoil the uniformity of the streets. This villainous taste has necessarily injured the appearance of the city. I passed one morning in walking over the old Moorish part of the town, and, though accustomed to the filth and narrowness of Spanish and Portuguese streets, I was astonished at the dirt and darkness. Yet, the contrast was

very delightful, after winding up these close and gloomy ascents, to arrive on some open eminence that commanded the city and the harbour. The river assumes a very gay appearance on any particular holyday, when the vessels are ornamented with the colours of all the nations in alliance with Portugal: the guns are then fired; but so irregularly, that the first time I was awakened by them, they gave me the idea of an engagement. These people delight in gunpowder: the last Brazil fleet was detained for six weeks, that they might fire upon the queen's birth-day.

'I have seen one of the Lent processions. There were about ten saints carried, as large as life, preceded by an imaged crucifix. Some little boys, dressed with silver wings, led the procession; and the host concluded it, borne as usual under a purple pall. You will be amused with the history of Nosso Senhor dos Passos, the principal personage of the day's solemnity. This image one night knocked at the door of St. Roque's church and they would not let him in. He then went to the convent of Graza, at the other end of the town, and obtained admittance. As you may well imagine, the brethren of St. Roque were in no small degree chagrined, when they discovered whom they had rejected: they claimed him as their guest; and alleged, that it was evident Nosso Senhor preferred dwelling with them, as he had chosen their church first. To this their antagonists assented; but pleaded they had forfeited this claim, by refusing to admit the miraculous visitor, who of course ought to abide with those who first received him. The matter would have occasioned a law-suit, if they had not thus compromised it. The convent of Graze is his home; but the brethren of St. Roque are allowed to carry him in their procession; and he sleeps with them the night preceding the ceremony. Surely it would have been a more equitable mode of decision, to have placed the image between the two churches, and to have allowed him to take his choice.

'A man was robbed and stripped naked last night within a hundred yards of this house. They usually strip their prey in this country. It is not many years since a man, called from his diminutive size Don Pedro Pequeno, kept the whole city

in awe. He would murder a person for the most trifling affront, and pick a quarrel with any one who passed him in the street, for the sake of stabbing him. The fellow had killed so many officers who attempted to apprehend him, that at last they shot him, like a wild beast, from a distance.

'When the present queen began her reign, she made the wise and humane resolution of never inflicting the punishment of death. This resolution she observed till Almada church was robbed, and the host scattered about and trampled under foot. On this occasion the court went into mourning for nine days; and the thieves, when taken, were executed for their sacrilege.

'A more memorable circumstance occurred upon the robbing of a church at Lisbon: the wafers were missing; of course the city was in an uproar, and the court in mourning. During this period of public calamity, a priest, passing by a drove of oxen in one of the public streets, saw the foremost beast fall upon his knees. He leaped forward, and, stooping to the ground, produced a wafer! clean and immaculate, though the streets were dirty. A miracle was immediately shouted—the miraculous host was immediately conveyed to the church—the driver and his oxen stopt—and high mass celebrated upon the occasion. The priest and the driver were pensioned for this fortunate miracle; and even the oxen purchased, and turned out to be pastured for life at the public expence.

'As Good-Friday happened on the 25th of March this year, they have put off Lady-day till the 6th of April. I have now witnessed all the mummery of a Roman Catholic Lent. Of the processions I have already spoken: on the Sunday and Monday preceding Lent, as on the first of April in England, people are privileged here to play the fool: it is thought very jocose to pour water on any person who passes, or throw powder in his face, but to do both is the perfection of wit.

'On the evening of Good-Friday I went to the new convent, to witness the rending of the veil of the temple, and hear a Portuguese sermon. The earthquake was represented by a noise like scuffling of feet: the sermon was extempore, and its subject the sorrows of the virgin Mary; the preacher addressed

himself to her image, the words magoas (sorrows) and esta tristissima noite (this most mournful night) were continually whined out; it was the very reverse of the celebrated carol of her seven good joys.

'The following day I attended to see the church stripped; it was under the management of a man of high rank, remarkable for his attachment to priests and prostitutes. One of the officiating priests wore a wig with a hole cut in it by way of the mystic tonsure. After I had waited some hours, exposed to all the effluvia of a Portuguese crowd, the black curtains were in an instant drawn, and the altars discovered completely illuminated.

'Apicius himself might envy the feelings of a Catholic on Easter eve. After doing penance for forty days on fish and soup meagre, they make amends for it by falling to when the clock strikes twelve, and this midnight feast is said to do them more injury than all the previous fasting.

'Easter Sunday is the accession day of the emperor of the Holy Ghost. This great personage, of whom you have probably never heard, is a little boy; his reign lasts only till Whitsuntide, but his privileges are for life, and singular ones they are; for he is allowed to commit any crime without incurring the punishment of death, except high-treason: for which he may be beheaded.

Mr. Southey next indulges himself with some severe sarcasms on the Catholic religion, in a style very different from his late writings. He says, speaking of the Portuguese priests, 'I should respect their zeal though they pestered me with their absurdity: but they tempt in the day of poverty, they terrify on the bed of sickness, they persecute in the hour of death; and if they find a man senseless in his last agonies, they place a candle in his hand, and smuggle him under false colours into the kingdom of heaven. An Englishman who kept a Portuguese mistress was so tormented by these friars in his last illness, that he died with a loaded pistol in each hand, ready to shoot the first monk that approached him.'

Having visited Cintra, 'we returned,' says our author, 'to Lisbon on *burros:* the ass in this country is as respectable an

animal as it is useful: you will probably be as incredulous as I was, till undeniable testimony convinced me, when I tell you that a Portuguese lady here is so enormously fat that she actually broke the back of a strong ass, and the animal fell dead under her. They go a quiet, constant pace, and as I jogged patiently on I was reminded of the way of life: imagination is a mettled horse that will break the rider's neck, when a donkey would have carried him to the end of his journey slow but sure.

'They have no idea of the exertions of our English horses. A young Englishman, who draws very well, drew one in the act of leaping a gate; sir, said the Portuguese, to whom he shewed the sketch, no horse can do that, it is impossible.

'All improvements here are classed under the hateful term of innovations. A Portuguese, who, after making some fortune in England, settled in his own country, had learnt the value of English comforts, and built a chimney in his sitting-room. But none of his countrymen would sit in the room. "No," they said, "they did not like those metaphysical things." *Essas cousas metaficas.* I met with as curious an application of a word in the fragment of a Portuguese theological work; after enumerating some of the opinions of an heretic, the author adds, "he was guilty of these and many other such bestialities."

Mr. Southey now concludes his amusing work by observing, that though he was eager to be again in England, yet his heart would be heavy when he looked back upon Lisbon for the last time.

TRAVELS

THROUGH

SWEDEN, LAPLAND, AND FINLAND,

TO THE

NORTH CAPE,

In the Years 1798 *and* 1799,

BY JOSEPH ACERBI.

THE gentleman who visited these regions of the Arctic circle is a native of Italy, a country abounding in all the beauties of nature and the finest productions of art, of course he appears to have been forcibly struck with the contrast between his own country, and the sublimity and rude magnificence of the northern climates.

Mr. Acerbi landed at Helsingburg from whence he proceeded to Gothenburg. 'This city,' says he, 'is the second city of the kingdom. Its environs are almost every where naked, barren, and dreary. They present an uniform scene of small eminences of black rock, where nature cannot by any power of art be forced to produce vegetation. The harbour exhibits a similar confusion of rocks not more pleasing to the eye, and some little craggy isles of a rugged and forbidding aspect. As to the interior of the town, it resembles in some respects the towns of Holland, having canals, with rows of trees along their margins, regularly cut or clipped in the Dutch fashion. The inhabitants of this place are in a state of constant emulation with those of the capital, in commerce as well as in their mode of life, their fashions, and every species of luxury. The ladies of Gothen-

burg are celebrated for their amiable dispositions, their beauty, their sociability, and their accomplishments. They employ much of their time in the cultivation of languages and the arts, particularly that of music. They possess in a very high degree all the qualifications that form an amiable, accomplished, and interesting woman. The population of this town is about fifteen thousand. The suburbs are situated on rising ground, and are occupied principally by seafaring people belonging to merchantmen, the East India company, and several ships of war stationed in the harbour. The commerce of Gothenburg is very considerable, and comprehends perhaps more than the seventh part of the exports, and about a fourth of the imports of the whole kingdom. The East India company, in which the city of Antwerp and the town of Ostend have a large share, sends from one to two or three ships annually to China. Though their charter empowers them to trade with India, it is but rarely, and to no considerable extent, that they avail themselves of that privilege. The number of trading vessels belonging to Gothenburg is about two hundred and fifty. About eight hundred foreign ships enter the harbour annually, and about five hundred Swedish. One of the principal sources of prosperity to Gothenburg is the herring fishery. Six hundred thousand barrels of salted herrings have been known to be sold in one year, and thirty thousand barrels of oil. To one barrel of oil there is reckoned a proportion of ten or twelve barrels of herrings. Every such barrel contains from a thousand to fourteen hundred herrings. The fishing begins in October, and lasts till February, and sometimes till March. The herrings are partly consumed in the country itself, and partly exported to the Baltic and the Mediterranean.'

Our traveller in proceeding to Stockholm passed the canal of Trolhatta, cut through immense rocks with prodigious skill and labour. On arriving at the capital he observes, 'there are a great variety of stations in this insulated and peninsulated capital, from which you may survey its manifold and singular beauties. Steeples, houses, rocks, trees, lakes, and the castle, which rears its head above the whole, present to the eye a most interesting picture. But the point of view which is more

striking than all the others, and where every stranger should stop and look round him, is the north bridge. Turning towards the city, you have in front a view of its whole extent, and of the forepart of the castle, which stands on the brow of a hill. This is a work of superb architecture, simple indeed, but noble and majestic; not incumbered with that load of useless ornaments, which greatly disfigured the castle or palace of Copenhagen, as may still be seen from the ruins that were left by the fire, which has nearly destroyed that magnificent structure. Thence, on the right, your eye takes a wide range; and perceives, among other objects, a number of hills adorned with houses or with fir-trees, and rests with delight on a small island, embellished with a pavilion or summer-house, which is reflected by the limpid surface of the water, and exhibits a most pleasing appearance. Near to this building, on the right hand, stands the beautiful house of the count de Bunge, where a club is held, distinguished by the name of *the Society*. A prospect as much diversified, and not less extensive, is opened towards the east, comprehending at some distance the isle of Blasius, which communicates by means of a wooden bridge with Ships-island. To the left you see the theatre or playhouse, and to the north you observe the Nordermalm or northplace, in the centre of which stands a gilt statue in bronze of Gustavus Adolphus. On two sides of this square, the right and the left, are two edifices, the fronts of which are in exact correspondence and symmetry with each other. One of them is the palace of the princess royal, and the other the operahouse. To this is to be added the effect produced on the imagination, by the noise of the water rushing in a violent cataract through the arches of the bridge, which completes the romantic assemblage. After what has been said of the situation of Stockholm, it will be easy to conceive what a change the appearance of the whole scene must undergo by the opposite seasons.

'The grand and most distinguished feature in the locality of that city, namely, being situated on islands amidst gulfs and lakes, is destroyed by the ice. The same water which divides the inhabitants of the different quarters in summer

unites them in winter. It becomes a plain which is traversed by every body. The islands are islands no longer: horses in sledges, phaetons, and in vehicles of all sorts placed on skates, scour the gulf and lakes by the side of ships fixed in the ice, and astonished as it were to find themselves in such company on the same element. Those lakes which in summer were brightened by the clear transparency of their waters reflecting every object on their banks, and presenting the animated picture of skiffs, oars, and small sails, are now turned into a place of rendezvous for men and children mingled in one throng. They walk, slide, fly about in sledges, or glide along on small skates. In the exercise of skating they display great dexterity and address, and amuse the spectators with the ease and quickness of their various movements; darting foward with the speed of arrows; turning and returning, and balancing their bodies according to inclination and circumstances, in such a manner that it is sometimes difficult to imagine what can be their principal of motion. Here the water, which during the keenest frost dashes and foams with great noise through the arches of the bridge, sends up majestic clouds of vapour to a considerable height in the atmosphere; where, in the extreme rigour of winter, being converted by the intenseness of the cold into solid particles, they are precipitated down through their weight, and presenting their surface to the sun, assume the appearance of a shower of silver sand, reflecting the solar rays, and adorned with all manner of colours. In the interior of Stockholm, throughout all its different quarters, every thing in winter in like manner undergoes a sudden change. The snow that begins to fall in the latter weeks of autumn covers and hides the streets for the space of six months; and renders them more pleasant and convenient than they are in summer or autumn; at which seasons, partly on account of the pavement, and partly on account of the dirt, they are often almost impassable. One layer of snow on another, hardened by the frost, forms a surface more equal and agreeable to walk on, which is sometimes raised more than a yard above the stones of the street. You are no longer stunned by the irksome noise of carriage-wheels; but this is ex-

changed for the tinkling of little bells, with which they deck their horses before the sledges. The only wheels now to be seen in Stockholm are those of small carts, employed by men servants of families to fetch water from the pump in a cask. This compound of cart and cask always struck me as a very curious and extraordinary object; insomuch that I once took the trouble of following it, in order to have a nearer view of the whimsical robe in which the frost had invested it, and particularly of the variegated and fantastical drapery in which the wheels were covered and adorned. This vehicle, with all its appurtenances, afforded to a native of Italy a very singular spectacle. The horse was wrapped up, as it seemed, in a mantle of white down, which under his breast and belly was fringed with points and tufts of ice. Stalactical ornaments of the same kind, some of them to the length of a foot, were also attached to his nose and mouth. The servant that attended the cart had on a frock, which was encrusted with a solid mass of ice. His eye-brows and hair jingled with icicles, which were formed by the action of the frost on his breath and perspiration. Sometimes the water of the pump was frozen, so that it became necessary to melt it by the injection of a red hot-bar of iron.

'When the cold of winter drives the people of fortune into the capital, then begin at Stockholm plays, operas, balls, and great dinners, which during the summer months had been suspended. Some months of the year are in Sweden extremely disagreeable: September and October, when the rains set in; and May and June, when the thaw commences. At these two seasons travelling becomes almost impossible, and the capital as well as other towns, are so clogged and blocked up with mud and dirt, that you can scarcely move from one place to another. It is for this reason that the Swedes so generally wear outer shoes, called *galoches*, which are very useful and necessary for the preservation of health, by keeping the feet from wet. At this season a carriage of one's own becomes indispensably necessary; for the hackney coaches of Stockholm are so filthy as not be endured by any lady, or almost any gentleman.

'It is not unnatural to suppose, that in the midst of a Swedish winter an Italian would run the risk of perishing through cold; but this is by no means the case. I was at Stockholm all the winter of 1779, when the cold was at or below twenty-five degrees of the thermometer of Celsius; and I can declare with perfect truth, that I suffered much less from the severity of the weather than I have sometimes done in Italy. If the cold in those climates be great, the means of warding off its effects are proportionably great. The stoves in Sweden are the most ingeniously contrived for heating a chamber, and keeping it warm with a very small quantity of fuel, of any in Europe. They are rather dangerous, it is true, if entrusted to strangers, who do not know how to manage them, and who, by shutting up the vent at an improper time, may occasion too great an expenditure of vital air. But the Swedes know so exactly the moment when it is fit to close the air-hole, that there is scarcely an instance of any accident happening from the use of stoves in Sweden. They are in general so constructed, as to correspond in their appearance with the furniture and style of the apartment in which they are placed. A great number of pipes proceed from the stove, which do not merely serve to conduct the smoke, but their chief use is to circulate the heated air that is combined with the smoke throughout the apartment. It is true that, in order to resist the power of winter at Stockholm, you must, when you go out, carry about with you a whole wardrobe of clothes; this inconvenience, however, is little thought of, when custom has rendered it familiar. I have often been greatly diverted at seeing a Swede, before he came into a room, divesting himself of his pellice, great coat, and upper shoes, and leaving them in the anti-chamber. The vestments or *exuviæ* of ten persons are sufficient to load a large table. I knew a gentleman, who disliked pellices, and substituted common great coats, of which he wore two at a time. These, with two pair of gloves, his galoches, and his stick, make altogether ten different articles for the anti-chamber, viz. two great coats, two galoches, four gloves, one stick, and one hat. A good memory is requisite not to forget any of those articles on

taking your leave. When a gentleman has occasion in winter to go any where on foot, or to walk ever so short a distance from his carriage, he wears great jack-boots, lined with fur or flannel, and under them shoes and white stockings; the boots he pulls off in the anti-chamber. With such boots and a good pellice, a man may set the utmost severity of cold at defiance.

'Of the winter amusements of Stockholm, I do not feel any great inclination to be particular, nor do I apprehend that information of this kind is generally interesting. Theatrical entertainments, which among nations that have arrived at a high degree of civilization and refinement, are considered as a great source of pleasure, are not so much sought after by the inhabitants of Sweden.

'The ladies of Sweden are, generally speaking, very handsome. Their countenances bear the characteristic of northern physiognomy, which is an expression of the most perfect tranquillity and composure of mind, indicating nothing of that passion and fire which, to every discerning observer, is visible in the features of the French and Italian ladies. As there is but little gallantry or attention shewn them by the men, and as they pass a great part of their time either alone or amongst themselves, their conversation, though they are well educated, possesses but a small share either of variety or interest; and of that happy art of supporting conversation with vivacity, which so eminently distinguishes our Italian ladies, they are wholly destitute. The principal object that employs their time and attention is dress; and this anxiety is rather the effect of an ambition to outshine their rivals in elegance and splendour, than the result of an eagerness to please the men and make conquests. They are, however, not free from the imputation of coquetry, because they are certainly fond of admiration and praise: they would like to see every man at their feet, and would wish to be called the belles of the north: but their predominant passion is a desire of public notice and distinction. There is not an individual for whom they feel, in their heart, such strong and violent sentiments of friendship, tenderness, and love, as are found in those who live in warmer climates.

'The same constitution which produces distance and reserve in one class of women, is the cause of excessive licentiousness in the inferior orders. The prodigality of their kindness is in proportion to the coldness of their temperament. They seem to think they can never give enough, because they feel little even in bestowing the greatest favours. There are not in Stockholm, as in other places, any women of the town: instead of these—individuals have mistresses, who maintain a rank in society much above their condition in life. They are pretty much in the style of some distinguished individuals of that description in England. They require to be courted in a formal manner; nor are their good graces, such as they are, to be obtained by any one without some previous introduction; a custom which I think I am far from discommending, but which, on the contrary, I think is entitled to some credit, even though they are not contented with one lover at a time. But the honorary premium usually given them is very small, and they must have at least seven or eight lovers to support the style of dress they aspire to, which is the only object of their care day and night. They exact from their friend and favourites a degree of attention and respect even in public, that appears extraordinary to a foreigner. They would immediately dismiss a lover that would hesitate to bow to them in public places, or even to kiss their hands, as is the custom in Sweden for gentlemen to perform, in token of respect to ladies of rank and character. From the facility of keeping mistresses by a species of partnership, it happens that the men in Sweden, especially in the capital, feel no jealousy; they "enjoy love," as Helvetius expresses it, "but do not sigh."

'The Swedes, like the English, are taken up with their business in the day time, and spend their evenings at cards, or sometimes, though very rarely, in the company of the ladies. A Swedish *petit maitre* is an animal that holds a middle station between beings of that kind in Germany and those in France. He is a fool, as in all countries. He spends the whole day in changing his clothes, wears large whiskers reaching down the length of his chin, and paints his face. If, added to these decorations, he can but scrape a little on the

fiddle, he is the darling of all the ladies who play, in their feeble way on the harpsichord. A taste for music in Swedish societies, is by no means the predominant passion. It is as yet so little formed, and the judgment of the audience so wavering and uncertain, that after hearing any thing played, they will consider with themselves what opinion it may be proper to give; and watch the countenance of any foreigner that may happen to be present in order to regulate their sentiments, and decide concerning their own impressions.

'The Swedish dinner parties are expensive arrangements of shew and formality. It will often happen that out of forty or fifty people, who appear in consequence of an invitation sent with all possible ceremony, and perhaps a week or a fortnight before the appointed day, scarcely three or four know one another sufficiently to make the meeting agreeable. A foreigner may still fare worse, and have the misfortune of being seated near a person totally unacquainted with any language but his own. Before the company sit down to dinner, they first pay their respects to a side table, laden with bread, butter, cheese, pickled salmon, and *liqueur*, or brandy; and by the tasting of these previous to their repast, endeavour to give an edge to their appetite, and to stimulate the stomach to perform its office. After this prelude, the guests arrange themselves about the dinner table, where every one finds at his place three kinds of bread, flat and coarse rye bread, white bread, and brown bread. The first sort of bread is what the peasants eat; it is crisp and dry: the second sort is common bread; but the brown, last mentioned, has a sweet taste, being made with the water with which the vessels in the sugar-houses are washed, and is the nastiest thing possible. All the dishes are at once put upon the table, but no one is allowed to ask for what he likes best, the dishes being handed round in regular succession; and an Englishman has often occasion for all his patience to wait till the one is put in motion on which he has fixed his choice. The Swedes are more knowing in this respect, and, like the French, eat of every thing that comes before them: and although the different dishes do not harmonize together, yet such is the force of habit, that the guests

apparently find no inconvenience from the most opposite mixtures. Anchovies, herrings, onions, eggs, pastry, often meet together on the same plate and are swallowed promiscuously. The sweet is associated with the sour, mustard with sugar, confectionaries with salt meat or salt fish; in short eatables are intermingled with a poetical licence, that sets the precept of Horace at defiance—

Sed non ut placidis coeant immitia.

An Italian is not very much at a loss at these feasts; but an Englishman finds himself quite uncomfortable and out of his element: he sees no wine drank either with the ladies or the gentlemen during dinner; but must take it himself in a solitary manner: he is often obliged to wait for hours before he can help himself to what he prefers to eat, and when the meat arrives, he generally thinks it not dressed plain enough, but disagreeable from the quantity of spices with which it is seasoned. After dinner the ladies do not leave him to his bottle; he is expected to adjourn immediately with them to the drawing-room, where the company, after thanking the master and mistress of the house with a polite or rather ceremonious bow for their good cheer, are regaled with tea and coffee.'

Our intelligent author next proceeds to describe the manners of the court, and the ridiculous attention paid to etiquette. He next gives a description of the scientific establishments in Stockholm, and of their influence on public opinion. In conclusion he offers some interesting observations on the general state of knowledge in this country. 'There is, perhaps,' says he, 'no country in Europe where instruction is so universally diffused among the very lowest of the people as in Sweden, except Iceland, Scotland, and the late small republic of Geneva. All the people in towns, villages, and hamlets, without exception, are taught to read. It was not without reason, therefore, that Gustavus III. who kept a watchful eye on every event that might influence the state of society, interdicted all mention in the Swedish journals of a French revolution, either good or bad. He wished the people not only to be prevented from

thinking of it, and reasoning about it; but as much as possible to be kept in the dark as to its very existence. The effects to be desired or dreaded in any country from the productions of the press, are no doubt, in proportion to the degree and extent of education which the people at large have received. It does not follow, from the circumstance of the Swedes being all taught to read, and attached to established tenets and modes of worship, that they should be an honest and good sort of people: this however is the case. The Swedes, I mean the peasantry, (for as to the inhabitants of towns, they are corrupt in proportion to their population, their commerce, and their luxury) are a frank, open, kind-hearted, gay, hospitable, hardy, and spirited people. It would be difficult to point out any nation that is more distinguished by a happy union of genius, bravery, and natural probity of disposition. They are represented by their neighbours as the *gascons* of Scandinavia. This charge when due allowance is made for the mutual jealousy and antipathy of neighbouring nations, amounts to no more than this, that they are actuated by that sensibility to fame, and love of distinction, which generally predominate in the breasts of brave, generous, and adventurous people.

'Every parish has it school, in which the common rudiments of reading and writing are taught. Besides this, there is a public school maintained in every large town at the expence of the crown, in which the boys continue till about their eleventh or twelfth year, when they are commonly sent to one of the gymnasia. These are also public schools, but upon a larger scale than the former: and one of them exists in almost every province. From the gymnasia the young men, at the age of seventeen or eighteen, proceed to one of the universities, and for the greater part to Upsala. In the gymnasia, and many of the greater schools, they are not only instructed in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, but in the principal doctrines of theology. These *schola illustres* and gymnasia, are under the care and inspection of the bishops of the respective dioceses in which they are established, and where the bishops constantly reside. The bishops, accompanied by

some of the inferior clergy, and others, visit and examine the schools publicly at fixed periods. The course of education, and the books read, are not left to the discretion of the teachers, but prescribed by public authority. At Stockholm there is a German school, which is placed under the inspection of two German ministers of the gospel. In this seminary the pupils are instructed in Grecian, Roman, and modern history, geography and religion. The Swedish gentlemen are seldom contented with what may be called a scholastic, or a gymnastic education, but proceed either from one of the greater, or, as they call them, the illustrious schools; or more generally from one of the gymnasia to the university. The sons of wealthy tradesmen too, and peasants, have very frequently the advantage of an university education. If any of the youth whose circumstances might not admit of an university education, give indications of fine parts, and a genius for any department of science; the inspectors, who are in general allowed to discharge their duty with great diligence and fidelity, make a report of him to the king, who then orders that he may receive an education suitable to his talents and his merit. I may take this opportunity to observe, that the Swedish clergy are for the most part regular and decent in their deportment, and attentive to the duties of their office.'

Reflecting on the state of the arts and sciences, Mr. Acerbi observes, 'that a greater progress has been made in the sciences and arts, both liberal and mechanical, by the Swedes, than by any other nation struggling with equal disadvantages of soil and climate, and labouring under the discouragement of internal convulsions and external aggressions, from proud, powerful, and overbearing neighbours. Their commerce, all things considered, and their manufactures are in a flourishing state. The spirit of the people, under various changes unfavourable to liberty, remains yet unbroken. The government is still obliged in some degree to respect the public opinion. There is much regard paid to the natural claims of individuals; justice is tempered with mercy, and great attention is shewn in their hospitals and other institutions to the situation of the poor and helpless. From the influence of the court among a

quick, lively, and active race of men, private intrigue and cabal have, to a great degree, crept into every department of society; and this is what I find the greatest subject of blame, or of regret, in speaking of that country. The resources of a state are chiefly three; population, revenue, and territory. The first two are not considerable in Sweden; the last is great in extent, though not so in its immediate value: but the vast extent of territory itself is an object of importance. Land and seas, however sterile and rude, constantly become more fertile and useful as the course of science and art advances—as the French say, "Tourjours va la terre aubon." Art subdues natural difficulties and disadvantages, and finds new uses for materials of every description: and, finally, it may be justly observed that, in the very rudeness of the natural elements, and in their poverty, the Swedes have a pledge and security for civil freedom and political independence.

'It is deemed a very great calamity in Sweden, and one not less heavy than a bad harvest, if the winter be such as to prevent the use of sledges, because it is by means of these that bulky commodities, namely, iron, wood, grain, and other articles, are conveyed from one place to another. Winters, however, so mild that sledges cannot be used, sometimes will happen; then the communication is limited, and commercial intercourse confined: for the highways are by no means sufficient for the purposes of travelling and carrying goods; whereas, with a sledge you may proceed on the snow, through forests and marshes, across rivers and lakes, without any impediment or interruption. It is on account of this facility of transporting merchandize over the ice, that all the great fairs in Sweden and Finland are held in the winter season. Nor is it an uncommon thing for the peasants to undertake journeys, with whatever they have got for the market, of 3 or 400 English miles. They have been known to travel with their sledges about 200 miles in ten or twelve days. There were some circumstances that obliged us to be very circumspect and nice in our selection of the sledge that was to carry us in our intended expedition from Stockholm towards the north. The great and covered sledges, built like the body of a carriage.

and placed on skates, are certainly the warmest, the most sociable, and in every respect the most commodious; but these were by no means adapted to a journey through Finland. Here it is necessary to have sledges of a certain determinate width, such as can be drawn by one horse along the narrow roads, or rather in the ruts or tracks of this country. In many places the roads are bordered on both sides by snow to the height of five or six feet, forming as it were two ramparts, between which you are to move along. The little open sledges, such as are used in Stockholm on parties of pleasure, and made commonly in the shape of a cockle-shell, seemed upon the whole the most eligible, on account of their lightness, and their being sufficiently narrow for the straitest passages. But these sledges, though convenient enough for a small excursion, become very fatiguing on a long journey; and in one of seven or eight hundred English miles would have been altogether insupportable. Without some particular precaution, in adding a prop or support behind, it was impossible to resist the impulse, or guide the movement and direction of the sledge, in uneven parts of the road. During the whole of our journey we were under the necessity of being our own drivers. There were at the time some Finland sledges to be had at Stockholm, which might have served equally for Sweden and Finland; but these vehicles, used only in travelling through that part of Sweden which lies between Stockholm and Finland, were drawn by particular sets of horses. The peasants, unaccustomed to such sledges, refused to furnish their horses, as their harness did not suit them. They complained that they were clumsy, awkward, and heavy, because they did not rest on iron but large wooden skates. As there is but very little travelling in Finland, the regulations for the roads are not so strict as in Sweden. The snow commonly lays deeper, and the inhabitants, accustomed to the form of their own sledges, see no reason for any road wider than the only carriages they are acquainted with require.

'We departed from Stockholm on the 16th of March, 1799, at seven o'clock in the morning, passing through the north gate. Enveloped in pellices of Russian bear's skins, our heads closely

covered with fur caps, and our hands in gloves lined with wool or fur, we found no reason to complain of cold the whole way to Grislehamn, where we arrived on the same evening. The sky was covered with clouds and dark, and consequently our journey was dismal, or at least gloomy. The first object that presented itself to our view on leaving Stockholm behind us, was the gardens of Haga, with the lake which in the summer season forms so great an embellishment to this delightful retreat. It was no longer that delicious paradise, that pleasure ground tufted with trees in leaf, and adorned with shrubberies and coppice wood, through which the winding paths, under a pleasing shade, imperceptibly conducted the visitor to some fountain, or to the vaulted roof of some little temple, or some cabin, the asylum of simplicity and love: it was the skeleton, or, more properly, the inanimated carcase of that garden.

'Having traversed the lake of Haga, we passed very near the country house of the queen dowager Ulrica, called Ulricksdale. Beyond Ulricksdale nothing occurred that was in the least interesting the whole way to Grislehamn, a distance from Stockholm of not less than sixty-nine English miles. The face of the country cannot be said to be either flat or hilly: it is unequal ground, but rising and falling by gentle swells. The eye, fatigued by the dazzling whiteness of the snow, reposes itself with pleasure on the dark green of the pines, which are often met with throughout the whole of the journey. What amused us most was to see foxes here and there standing or walking about on the highway without any apparent solicitude for their safety. We were astonished to find this quadruped so incautious, and so devoid of that sagacity and prudence which is the characteristic of the species. The business for which those animals come to the highway we discovered to be no other than to eat the new-dropped dung of the horses that passed. If, while they were in search or possession of this, a sledge happened to go by, they would only leap over to the other side of the ditch, and turn about and keep a constant eye on the equipage, or whatever or whomsoever they considered as objects of just suspicion and danger, without moving

farther off, even though a man should come within thirty or forty paces of them. If the sledge stopped, then they would immediately betake themselves to flight; but if any one whistled, the fox would stop short, turn about, and for a few seconds look the person in the face. A sportsman, having a fowling-piece with him in his sledge, would have an opportunity of taking a tolerable sure aim, and doing great execution among them, merely by means of whistling. We were not without fowling-pieces; but our pellices, a certain laziness and heaviness with which we were overwhelmed (the effect, no doubt, of the climate), and the constraint we were under from the necessity of accommodating our posture to the movement of the sledge, all conspired to render shooting at a mark no easy matter. Besides, the report of our pieces might have frightened the horses.

'During the whole of this route from Stockholm to Grislehamn, the traveller must not think of stopping either to eat or sleep; I mean to say, that there are no inns to be met with as in other parts of Europe. He must carry his provisions along with him, for the poor peasants have seldom any thing besides bread and milk, or sometimes salted provisions, not always agreeable to travellers. Their bread is flat round cakes, made for the most part of barley or rye, with holes in the middle, through which a string passes for slinging a number of them on their backs when they go abroad to the woods or fields, or a fishing. Besides bread and milk, they have in their stores salted or smoked meat, as well as fish, and occasionally even beer and brandy; but these last are objects of luxury, and necessary only to factitious appetites: both they and their children are well fed.

'Grislehamn is a small post town, where all travellers stop in their way to or from Sweden or Finland, whether in summer or winter. The navigation of the straits here is extremely dangerous, as well as disagreeable. There is only one passage for large vessels, and the mariners are always in terror of striking on the rocks, which are every where scattered in this formidable sea. In winter a passage is very rarely attempted, but when the whole surface is frozen to such a degree of solidity

as to bear a sledge. When this is not the case, as sometimes happens during a mild and open winter, those persons who have occasion to travel from Sweden, either to Finland or Russia, are under the necessity of going by the way of Tornea all round the gulf of Bothnia.

'When a traveller is going to cross over the gulf on the ice to Finland, the peasants always oblige him to engage double the number of horses to what he had upon his arriving at Grislehamn. We were forced to take no less than eight sledges, being three in company, and two servants. This appears at first to be an imposition on the part of the peasants; but we found, by experience, that it was a necessary precaution. The distance across is forty-three English miles, thirty of which you travel on the ice without touching on land. This passage over the frozen sea is, doubtless, the most singular and striking spectacle that a traveller from the south can behold. I laid my account with having a journey more dull and unvaried than surprising or dangerous. I expected to travel forty-three miles without sight of land over a vast and uniform plain, and that every successive mile would be in exact unison and monotonous correspondence with those I had already travelled; but my astonishment was greatly increased in proportion as we advanced from our starting-post. The sea, at first smooth and even, became more and more rugged and unequal. It assumed, as we proceeded, an undulating appearance, resembling the waves by which it had been agitated. At length we met with masses of ice heaped one upon the other, and some of them seeming as if they were suspended in the air, while others were raised in the form of pyramids. On the whole, they exhibited a picture of the wildest and most savage confusion, that surprised the eye by the novelty of its appearance. It was an immense chaos of icy ruins, presented to view under every possible form, and embellished by superb stalactites of a blue green colour.

'Amidst this chaos, it was not without difficulty and trouble that our horses and sledges were able to find and pursue their way. It was necessary to make frequent windings, and sometimes to return in a contrary direction, following that of a

frozen wave, in order to avoid a collection of icy mountains that lay before us. In spite of all our expedients for discovering the evenest paths, our sledges were every moment overturned to the right or the left; and frequently the legs of one or other of the company raised perpendicularly in the air, served as a signal for the whole caravan to halt. The inconvenience and the danger of our journey were still farther increased by the following circumstance. Our horses were made wild and furious, both by the sight and smell of our great pellices manufactured of the skins of Russian wolves or bears. When any of the sledges was overturned, the horses belonging to it, or to that next to it, frighted at the sight of what they supposed to be a wolf or bear rolling on the ice, would set off at full gallop, to the great terror of both passenger and driver. The peasant, apprehensive of losing his horse in the midst of this desert, kept firm hold of the bridle, and suffered the horse to drag his body through masses of ice, of which some some sharp points threatened to cut him in pieces. The animal, at last wearied out by the constancy of the man, and disheartened by the obstacles continually opposed to his flight, would stop; then we were enabled to get again into our sledges, but not till the driver had blindfolded the animal's eyes: but one time, one of the wildest and most spirited of all the horses in our train, having taken fright, completely made his escape. The peasant who conducted him, unable any longer to endure the fatigue and pain of being dragged through the ice, let go his hold of the bridle. The horse relieved from this weight, and feeling himself at perfect liberty, redoubled his speed, and surmounted every impediment. The sledge, which he made to dance in the air, by alarming his fears added new wings to his flight. When he had fled to a considerable distance from us, he appeared from time to time as a dark spot which continued to diminish in the air, and at last totally vanished from our sight. Then it was that we recognized the prudence of having in our party some spare horses, and we were fully sensible of the danger that must attend a journey across the gulf of Bothnia without such a precaution. The peasant, who was the owner of the fugitive, taking one of the sledges, went in search of

him, trying to find him again by following the traces of his flight. As for ourselves, we made the best of our way to the isles of Aland, keeping as nearly as we could in the middle of the same plain, still being repeatedly overturned, and always in danger of losing one or other of our horses; which would have occasioned a very serious embarrassment. During the whole of this journey, we did not meet with, on the ice, so much as one man, beast, bird, or any living creature. Those vast solitudes present a desert abandoned as it were by nature. The dead silence that reigns is interrupted only by the whistling of the winds against the prominent points of ice, and sometimes by the loud crackings occasioned by their being irresistibly torn from this frozen expanse; pieces thus forcibly broken off are frequently blown to a considerable distance. Through the rents produced by these ruptures, you may see below the watery abyss; and it is sometimes necessary to lay planks across them, by way of bridges, for the sledges to pass over.

'The only animals that inhabit those deserts, and find them an agreeable abode, are sea-calves or seals. In the cavities of the ice they deposit the fruits of their love, and teach their young ones betimes to brave all the rigours of the rudest season. Their mothers lay them down, all naked as they are brought forth, on the ice; and their fathers take care to have an open hole in the ice near them, for a speedy communication with the water. Into these they plunge with their young the moment they see a hunter approach: or at other times they descend into them spontaneously in search of fishes, for sustenance to themselves and their offspring. The manner in which the male seals make those holes in the ice is astonishing: neither their teeth nor their paws have any share in this operation; but it is performed solely by their breath. They are often hunted by the peasants of the isles. When the islanders discover one of those animals, they take post, with guns and staves, at some distance from him, behind a mass of ice, and wait till the seal comes up from the water for the purpose of taking in his quantum of air. It sometimes happens, when the frost is extremely keen, that the hole is frozen up almost immediately after the seal makes his appearance in the atmosphere; in which

case the peasants fall on him with their sticks, before he has time with his breath to make a new aperture. In such extremities the animal displays an incredible degree of courage. With his formidable teeth he bites the club with which he is assaulted, and even attempts to attack the persons who strike him; but the utmost efforts and resistance of these creatures are not much dreaded, on account of the slowness of their motions, and the inaptitude of their members to a solid element.'

After considerable fatigue, and many adventures, having refreshed their horses about half way on the high sea, our travellers at length reached the islands of Aland, which they travelled through, partly by land, and partly over the isles of the sea. Having rested in Abo, they proceeded on the 20th of March northward through Finland. 'In this country,' says our author, 'the houses of the peasants are well built, and the stranger finds every where lodging and beds; and he may be tolerably accommodated, if he have the precaution to carry some conveniences along with him. You are received with great hospitality; the peasant furnishes you with whatever he has got to eat, though, in general, he can only offer you fresh and curdled milk, salt herrings, and perhaps, as before mentioned, a little salt meat. In comparison with those who travel among them they are poor, but in relation to themselves they are rich, since they are supplied with every thing that constitutes, in their opinion, good living. If they have more money than they have immediate use for, they lay it up for some unforeseen emergency, or convert it into a vase, or some other domestic utensil. You must not be surprised in Finland, if in a small wooden house, where you can get nothing but herrings and milk, they should bring you water in a silver vessel of the value of fifty or sixty rix dollars. The women are warmly clad; above their clothes they wear a linen shift, which gives them the air of being in a sort of undress, and produces an odd though not disagreeable fancy. The inside of the house is always warm, and indeed too much so for one who comes out of the external air, and is not accustomed to that temperature. The peasants remain in the house constantly in their shirt sleeves, without a coat, and with but a

single waistcoat; they frequently go abroad in the same dress, without dread either of rheumatism or fever. We shall see the reason of this when we come to speak of their baths. The Finlanders, who accompany travellers behind their sledges, are generally dressed in a kind of short coat made of calf's skin, or in a woollen shirt, fastened round the middle with a girdle. They pull over their boots coarse woollen stockings, which have the double advantage of keeping them warm, and preventing them from slipping on the ice.

'The interior of the peasants' house presents a picture of considerable interest. The women are occupied in teazing or spinning wool for their clothing, the men in cutting faggots, making nets, and mending or constructing their sledges.

'We met at Mamola with a blind old man, having his fiddle under his arm, surrounded by a crowd of boys and girls. There was something respectable in his appearance; his forehead was bald, a long beard descended from his chin, white as snow, and covered his breast. He had the look of those bards who are described with so much enthusiasm in the history of the north, not one of whom probably was equal to this poor man in science or intelligence. His audience were not gathered round him for nothing: he sang verses, and related to them tales and anecdotes; but our presence broke in upon the silence and tranquillity of the assembly; every body withdrew; children are children in all countries. The sight of strangers was such a novelty, that, forgetting the bard, they began to mock at our figure, and to laugh in our faces, while the poor mendicant finished by asking us, in bad Swedish, some halfpence or skillings in charity.

'Night was approaching, and we were extremely fatigued with our amphibious mode of travelling, half on foot and half in the sledge. In this emergency I had a strong proof of the utility of an invention which I was shewn in the model repository at Stockholm: it was a sledge, with four wheels suspended from its sides, which by means of a spring could be placed under the sledge, and raise it from the ground; and thus in a moment convert the sledges into a species of wheel carriage.'

Having stopped at a village, our travellers were hospitably entertained. In describing, says our author, 'the dwelling of a Finnish peasant, I think I shall gratify the reader by the annexed engraving, representing the inside of the house, where, at the same time, a scene of domestic amusement is exhibited, which is not infrequent among the Finnish peasantry. One of the men is playing on the national instrument of Finland, called the *harpu* (which will be described more particularly hereafter) while two other men, being seated opposite each other, and having their hands locked together, accompany the instrument with their song and the motion of their bodies, raising each other alternately from their seats. The other part of the company enjoy the scene as spectators.'

After passing through a forest eighty miles in length, they travelled over the ice, very often in great jeopardy. The ice was so transparent that they could discover the whole depth of the element below, and even the smallest fishes. On entering Ostrobothnia, they halted at Wasa, the seat of the tribunal for the north of Finland. From thence they proceeded to Uleaborg, where they were kindly entertained. The ladies here on retiring at night give strangers a hearty and unexpected slap on the back, to testify the pleasure they have received from the visit.

Marriages in Finland are negociated by old women. On the day after the ceremony a hired orator lectures the bride, and thumps her with a pair of the bridegroom's breeches, saying, "Be fruitful, woman; and don't fail of producing heirs to your husband." In some parts the young people sleep together for a week previous to the ceremony, but without quite undressing, and this is called *the week of the breeches.*

The Fins are fond of the bath, and both men and women use it promiscuously. They often pass instantaneously from an atmosphere of seventy degrees of heat to one of thirty degrees of cold, a transition of a hundred degrees; which is the same thing as going out of boiling into freezing water! and what is more astonishing, without the least inconvenience; while other people are very sensibly affected by a variation of

FINLANDERS SINGING.

but five degrees, and in danger of being afflicted with rheumatism by the most trifling wind that blows. Those peasants assure you, that without the hot vapour baths they could not sustain as they do, during the whole day, their various labours. By the bath, they tell you, their strength is recruited as much as by rest and sleep. The heat of the vapour mollifies to such a degree their skin, that the men easily shave themselves with wretched razors, and without soap. While they are in this hot bath, they continue to rub themselves, and lash every part of their bodies with switches formed of twigs of the birch-tree. In ten minutes they become as red as raw flesh, and have altogether a very frightful appearance. In the winter season they frequently go out of the bath, naked as they are, to roll themselves in the snow, when the cold is at twenty and even thirty degrees below zero. They will sometimes come out, still naked, and converse together, or with any one near them, in the open air. If travellers happen to pass by while the peasants of any hamlet, or little village, are in the bath, and their assistance is needed, they will leave the bath, and assist in yoking or unyoking, and fetching provender for the horses, or in any thing else, without any sort of covering whatever, while the passenger sits shivering with cold, though wrapped up in a good sound wolf's skin. There is nothing more wonderful than the extremities which man is capable of enduring through the power of habit.

'Having set out from Kengis, we did not change our boat till we reached Kollare, a distance of twenty-two miles. We performed this voyage in twelve hours, in the course of which our boatmen had only five hours rest. We were surprized by a heavy fall of rain, which poured upon us for half an hour in such large drops and with such violence, that we began to fear it would fill the boat. I had not seen so copious a shower since I left Italy, nor did I think it usual in this high latitude. The rain was so round, and the drops so large, that we lost sight of the surrounding objects, insomuch that our view was confined to the distance of eight or ten feet all around us. This was the first and only time we heard any thunder in our travels towards the north. Our tent hitherto had only been an en-

cumbrance to us, but the period was approaching when we should find its use. In the progress of our navigation as far as Kollare, we encountered many cataracts, but we became so accustomed to them, that what at first was a cause of terror, became at length an object of amusement. Once it happened that we got aground upon a rock in the middle of the river. Our Finlanders pushed the boat on a large round stone, so that it hung on its surface, while we remained suspended by our own equilibrium. Instead of trembling at this singular situation, in which we could not continue a moment without imminent danger of falling into the water, it excited in us an immoderate fit of laughter; a circumstance which seemed greatly to surprize and divert our boatmen.

'The village of Kollare is inhabited by Finlandish peasants, who seem to be very much at their ease. The first favour the women conferred upon us was to fill our room so full of smoke, that it brought tears in our eyes. Their intention was good, they wished to deliver us from the molestation of the gnats; and as a mean of very effectual prevention, they made a second fire near the entrance of the apartment to stop the fresh myriads of those insects which were ready to rush in upon us from without. A thick smoke is an object of great luxury in this part of the world. Those insects, which are the scourge of that country, became indeed very troublesome to us; and our gauze veils and gloves could give us no protection against their singing in our ears, and interrupting our sleep. Here our own resolution, as that of our servants formerly, for the first time, began to be shaken.'

Our travellers proceeded with great difficulty and descended a rapid in the river Muonio, where the current carried them a mile in the space of three or four minutes. In this distant part of Lapland he came to a small colony of Finlanders, whose priest was a great politician. On the first of July they left this place, and found the atmosphere heated to a degree nearly suffocating. In the evening, at Lappajervi, says our author, 'our boatmen were glad to take some rest after their wearisome voyage. When we arrived on the borders of the lake, we fell in with two Lapland fishermen, who had return-

W. Davidson Sculpt.

LAPLAND FISHERMEN.

ed from their day's fishing, and were preparing to pass the night there. We were guided to the spot where they were by a large column of smoke, which mounted into the air. On approaching them, we found that they had besmeared their faces with tar, and covered their heads and shoulders with a a cloth to protect themselves from the musquitoes. One of them was smoking tobacco, and the other was securing the fish they had taken from the depredations of the insects. Their meagre and squalid looks discovered evident signs of wretchedness. They were covered from head to foot by swarms of musquitoes, from whose stings their clothing scarcely shielded them. They were melting with heat, yet they durst not throw off their covering, much less remove from before the fire. Our arrival added millions of these flies to the myriads already there, as their numbers were continually increasing in our passage thither. It was impossible to stand a moment still; every instant we were forced to thrust our heads into the midst of the smoke, or to leap over the flame to rid ourselves of our cruel persecutors.

'We drew our boat ashore, and walked about a mile into the country to visit the families of these two Lapland fishers, who had fixed their constant habitation there. We found fires every where kept up: the pigs had their fire, the cows had theirs; there was one in the inside of the house, and another without, close to the door. The Lapland houses are not so large as those of the Finlanders. The door-way of the one we saw here was only four feet high, so that we found it necessary to stoop as we entered. We had left our tent behind us, supposing we should find accommodation to pass the night with the Laplanders, and that it would at least be equally good as that we had met with amongst the Finlanders; but we found ourselves disappointed: however, we were forced to put up with what convenience the people could offer us; and therefore, when it was time to retire to rest, we were accommodated with rein-deer skins, laid over small birchen twigs and leaves, which were spread on the ground, in a small apartment filled with smoke. We groped our way into our bed-chamber, because the smoke hindered us from seeing any

light. Some time after we had laid ourselves down to sleep, I heard a breathing, which seemed to proceed from a corner of the room, and which we were unable to account for, as we supposed ourselves the only living creatures in this place. I imagined it was a dog, or some other animal, which had taken his night's lodging there. Presently I heard a loud sigh, which seemed rather to be uttered by a human being than the animal I judged to be our fellow lodger. I raised my head up gently to try if I could discover any thing. Some cracks in the side of the walls, and a few openings in the roof, afforded a faint light, and in order to ascertain the cause of our alarm, I crept forward on my hands and knees. As the distance was but short, I soon reached the spot from whence the sounds came, and found two children naked, and lying upon deer-skins. The children were suddenly awaked, and seeing me approach them in the posture described, fancied themselves in danger of an attack from some wild beast, and ran out of the room, crying to their mother for help.'

In order to arrive at Kautokeino, a dangerous journey, our travellers engaged a party of Laplanders as guides, who are described as being disagreeable and filthy in the extreme. In eating they held the fish in their hands, and the oil that distilled from it ran down their arms, and into the sleeves of their coats which might be scented at some distance. With these men they marched in single files, and being behind, enjoyed the fragrance of their bodies. These poor wretches were continually begging for brandy, and nothing could overcome their phlegm and laziness. Eating, sleeping, and smoking, constituted their only enjoyments; they appeared perfectly ignorant of any sentiment of religion, or of the use of money, and artificial music is wholly banished far from these forlorn and desolate regions. In the large district where our author had now penetrated, two hundred miles long and ninety-six broad, 'there are,' he observes, 'but two places occupied by settled Laplanders, which amount together to no more than twelve families. The rest are all of the shepherd, or vagrant kind, who cannot be accurately numbered, because they are constantly in motion, and not attached to any parti-

T. Clerk Sculp.t

LAPLAND PEASANTS.

cular spot. In 1756 they reckoned ninety distinct families; but it is possible that some of these families may also have been counted among those of other districts. These wandering Laplanders inhabit, during the winter, the mountainous tracts, and move from place to place with their tents, and herds of rein-deer; but in summer they draw towards the coast for the benefit of fishing. At Kautokeino there are some very fine fields of meadow and arable land; the latter of which yield as much oats and barley as supplies the inhabitants for six months. Horses they have none: all journeys are performed on foot or in boats in summer, and during winter, in sledges drawn by rein-deer. What hay they possess serves as provender for their cows; and the corn they obtain is converted into flour for their own use, which, through long habit, is become so necessary an article of their subsistence, that they are miserable if they have it not all the year round. From fishing and the chase they derive as much resource as they possibly can. A people inured to a roving and hazardous kind of life, prefer to the laborious pursuits of agriculture, the chances of fishing and the chace.

'The method of hunting the bear is the same here as in Finland, but that of hunting the rein-deer is attended with excessive fatigue, and to be performed only by a Laplander. The wild rein-deer, which scorn to live in a herd, but remain in a solitary state among the woods and mountains, possess a nicety and acuteness of precaution that nothing can equal. When a Laplander perceives one of those animals at the distance of about half an English mile, he takes a circuit to the windward; coming nearer and nearer to it, creeping on his hands and feet, until he comes within gun-shot. I have been assured by a Laplander, that he has been obliged to creep in this manner for five miles, through shrubs and moss, in order to reach the most convenient spot for taking aim at his prey.

'In the small village of Kautokeino, there is in the month of February an annual fair, which is frequented by the neighbouring Laplanders and the merchants from Tornea, who come thither for the purpose of purchasing rein-deer skins, furs, and other articles. In those fairs the medium of trade

is barter.. The Laplanders give the skins of rein-deer, foxes, wolves, and bears, with gloves and shoes, or rather short boots, in exchange for coarse flannels, but above all, for brandy, tobbacco, meal, and salt.

'In the course of our journey through these lofty and dreary regions, we started a white hare, and some birds of different sorts: but it was not without difficulty and trouble that we could fire a shot, on account of the insects. The pleasure of shooting any thing was dearly purchased by the pain to be endured in performing that operation. In order to charge, level our pieces, and take aim, it was necessary to pull off our gloves, and put aside the veils that covered our faces: but when all this was done, or while doing, our enemies, ever watchful for a favourable moment of attack, allured by the scent of their prey, fell on the parts exposed without mercy by millions.

'We began to be exceedingly fatigued; but as there was no fuel at hand for making fires to drive away the musquitoes, which did not permit us either to take refreshment or repose, we pushed on in quest of some trees, and made, by a roundabout way, towards a cabin, which we were told by one of the oldest of our guides, had been erected in a plantation not far off by some travelling merchants, for the purpose of resting and warming themselves in the winter season, while the Laplanders baited their rein-deer. This cabin is a square room about eight or ten feet in diameter, constructed of wood, with a hole in the top for letting out the smoke of the fire in the centre. We did not all go into the cabin at once; but after the Laplanders had collect e abundance of the withered branches of trees, one of them entered alone and lighted the fire, having first used the precaution of stopping up the hole in the roof in order to keep in the smoke. When the chamber was so completely filled with smoke as almost to prevent respiration, the rest of the company were permitted to go into it. The insects, with which we were covered from head to foot, were obliged to quit their prey and remain at the door, enraged that they durst not advance to attack us in our retreat. This little hole, in which we were all huddled one

among another, quite full of smoke, and with no other carpet or floor than the bare earth, was more agreeable to us than any of the inns I had ever visited in France or England. In the middle of the room there was a good fire, and our tent placed on leaves of the birch-tree served us for a bed. We now set about dressing the game we had killed, being ourselves the cooks. We had a comfortable supper; and while the thick and pungent smoke made the tears trickle down our cheeks in large drops, we merrily drank, in a bumper of brandy, to the destruction of our enemies, who kept us in a state of blockade, still hovering at the gate of our citadel, and furious with resentment at the trick we had played them.'

On reaching Alten, they were conducted to the house of a Norwegian merchant. 'On the road,' says our adventurer, 'we observed in an adjoining pasture two or three horses. The appearance of this animal, which we had not seen in the course of five hundred miles, indicated that we had come to the residence of a person who was a stranger here, and the native of a civilized country. The house was situated on an eminence, and commanded on one side a view of the opposite mountains, and the masses of snow with which they are constantly covered; on the other side it afforded a prospect to the Frozen Ocean, which here penetrates into the land, and forms a considerable gulph, near which the house in question was built. We were delighted at finding ourselves at so short a distance from the object of our journey, which was to put an end to our toils and hardships. The beautiful colour of the sea, and the brilliant transparency of the waters, offered a most pleasing spectacle to our eyes; but nothing, indeed, cheered our minds so much as the idea of having so far succeeded in our enterprise. The sight of mountains covered with snow, and the name of the Frozen Ocean, amidst a heat as great as that in Italy, heightened the contrast between those opposite circumstances, and represented this place to our imagination as something singular and extraordinary, which was not to be met with in any other part of the world.'

Determined to visit the North Cape, which was one hundred miles distant, our travellers engaged a boat to go by

sea, for the peninsula is one continuation of mountains, intersected by lakes, rivers, and impenetrable morasses. The North Cape is described to be an enormous rock projecting into the ocean, where every thing is sterile, sad, and despondent. On the coast, during this excursion, they were hospitably entertained, and remarked that the Laplanders seemed to live in plenty, and were strangers to the coersions of a regular government. Having thus achieved the object of their perilous journey, our travellers returned by a similar route to that by which they had advanced, and our author concludes in the words of Reignard, who also travelled in Lapland.—"Thus ends a course which I would not but have made for all the gold in the world, and which I will not for all the gold in the world make over again."

ANSON'S VOYAGE

ROUND

THE WORLD.

IN the summer of the year 1739, a war with Spain appearing inevitable, the ministers determined to attack the distant settlements of that nation. The command of this expedition was entrusted to Mr. George Anson, then captain of the Centurion. The squadron put under his orders consisted of five men of war, a sloop of war, and two victualling ships. They were the Centurion of sixty guns, four hundred men, George Anson, esquire, commander; the Gloucester of fifty guns, three hundred men, Richard Norris commander: the Severn of fifty guns, three hundred men, the honourable Edward

Legg commander; the Pearl of forty guns, two hundred and fifty men, Matthew Mitchel commander; the Wager of twenty-eight guns, one hundred and sixty men, Dandy Kidd commander; and the Tryal sloop of eight guns, one hundred men, the honourable John Murray commander; the two victuallers were pinks, the largest of about four hundred, and the other of about two hundred tons burthen. Besides the complement of men borne by the abovementioned ships as their crews, there were embarked on board the squadron about four hundred and seventy invalids and marines, under the denomination of land-forces, which was commanded by lieutenant colonel Cracherode. After many vexatious delays and disappointment, the whole weighed from St. Helens on the 18th of September.

Having touched at Madeira, captain Norris returned to England for the recovery of his health, captain Mitchell being appointed in his room. Here they learned that the Spaniards had sent out a fleet to defeat the object of their expedition: but it seems that Pizarro was obliged to return to Europe, after having lost four ships of war, and a sloop with upwards of three thousand seamen, and a regiment of soldiers, by a series of the most calamitous events.

After touching at St. Catherine's on the Brazilian coast, the commodore appointed the port of St. Julian for the next place of rendezvous in case of separation. 'On the 18th of February,' says the narrator of this interesting voyage, 'we discovered a sail, upon which the Severn and Gloucester were both directed to give chace; but we soon found it to be the Pearl, which separated from us a few days after we left St. Catherine's, and on this we made a signal for the Severn to rejoin the squadron, leaving the Gloucester alone in the pursuit. And now we were surprised to see, that on the Gloucester's approach, the people on board the Pearl increased their sail, and stood from her. However, the Gloucester came up with them, but found them with their hammocks in their nettings, and every thing ready for an engagement. At two in the afternoon the Pearl joined us, and running up under our stern, lieutenant Salt hailed the

commodore, and acquainted him that captain Kidd died on the 31st of January. He likewise informed him, that he had seen five large ships the 10th instant, which he for some time imagined to be our squadron: That he suffered the commanding ship, which wore a red broad pennant, exactly resembling that of the commodore, at the main top-mast head, to come within gun-shot of him before he discovered his mistake; but then finding it not to be the Centurion, he haled close upon the wind, and crowded from them with all his sail, and standing across a ripling, where they hesitated to follow him, he happily escaped. He made them to be five Spanish men of war, one of them exceedingly like the Gloucester, which was the occasion of his apprehensions when the Gloucester chased him. By their appearance he thought they consisted of two ships of seventy guns, two of fifty, and one of forty guns. The whole squadron continued in chace of him all that day, but at night finding they could not get near him, they gave over the chace, and directed their course to the southward.

'And now had it not been for the necessity we were under of refitting the Tryal, this piece of intelligence would have prevented our making any stay at St. Julian's; but as it was impossible for that sloop to proceed round the cape in her present condition, some stay there was inevitable, and therefore the same evening we came to an anchor again in twenty-five fathom water, the bottom a mixture of mud and sand, and the high hummock bearing S. W. by W. And weighing at nine in the morning, we soon after sent the two cutters belonging to the Centurion and Severn in shore, to discover the harbour of St. Julian, while the ships kept standing along the coast, at about the distance of a league from the land. At six o'clock we anchored in the bay of St. Julian, in nineteen fathom, the bottom muddy ground with sand, the northermost land in sight bearing N. and by E, the southermost S. ½ E, and the high hummock, to which sir John Narborough formerly gave the name of Wood's Mount, W. S. W. Soon after, the cutter returned on board having discovered the harbour, which did not appear to us in our situation, the

northermost point shutting in upon the southermost, and in appearance closing the entrance.

'Being come to an anchor in this bay of St. Julian, principally with a view of refitting the Tryal, the carpenters were immediately employed in that business, and continued so during our whole stay at the place. The Tryal's main-mast having been carried away twelve feet below the cap, they contrived to make the remaining part of the mast serve again; and the Wager was ordered to supply her with a spare main top-mast, which the carpenters converted into a new fore-mast. And I cannot help observing, that this accident to the Tryal's mast, which gave us so much uneasiness at that time, on account of the delay it occasioned, was, in all probability, the means of preserving the sloop, and all her crew. For before this, her masts, how well soever proportioned to a better climate, were much too lofty for these high southern latitudes: So that had they weathered the preceding storm, it would have been impossible for them to have stood against those seas and tempests we afterwards encountered in passing round Cape Horn, and the loss of masts in that boisterous climate, would scarcely have been attended with less than the loss of the vessel, and of every man on board her; since it would have been impracticable for the other ships to have given them any relief, during the continuance of those impetuous storms.

'Whilst we stayed at this place, the commodore appointed the honourable captain Murray to succeed to the Pearl, and captain Cheap to the Wager, and he promoted Mr. Charles Saunders, his first lieutenant, to the command of the Tryal sloop. But captain Saunders lying dangerously ill of a fever on board the Centurion, and it being the opinion of the surgeons, that the removing him on board his own ship, in his present condition, might tend to the hazard of his life; Mr. Anson gave an order to Mr. Saumarez, first lieutenant of the Centurion, to act as master and commander of the Tryal, during the illness of captain Saunders.

'The Tryal being nearly refitted, which was our principal occupation at this bay of St. Julian, and the sole occasion of

our stay, the commodore thought it necessary, as we were now directly bound for the South Seas and the enemy's coasts, to regulate the plan of his future operations: And therefore, on the 24th of February, a signal was made for all captains, and a council of war was held on board the Centurion, at which were present the honourable Edward Legg, captain Matthew Mitchel, the honourable George Murray, captain David Cheap, together with colonel Mordaunt Cracherode, commander of the land-forces. At this council Mr. Anson proposed, that their first attempt, after their arrival in the South Seas, should be the attack of the town and harbour of Baldivia, the principal frontier of the district of Chili; Mr. Anson informing them, at the same time, that it was an article contained in his majesty's instructions to him, to endeavour to secure some port in the South Seas, where the ships of the squadron might be careened and refitted. New instructions were also given to the captains of the squadron, by which, though they were still directed, in case of separation, to make the best of their way to the island of Nuestra Senora del Socoro.'

The squadron sailed on the 27th of February, and on the 7th of March passed through the straits of Le Maire; immediately after which a violent storm came on, that exceeded the most dreadful ever witnessed by the oldest seamen. 'And,' says our author, 'that no circumstance might be wanting which could aggrandise our distress, these blasts generally brought with them a great quantity of snow and sleet, which cased our rigging, and froze our sails, thereby rendering them and our cordage brittle, and apt to snap upon the slightest strain, adding great difficulty and labour to the working of the ship, benumbing the limbs of our people, and making them incapable of exerting themselves with their usual activity, and even disabling many of them, by mortifying their toes and fingers.'

The storm continued many days, but the ships were worked with great resolution and activity. On the 8th of April, 'the commodore,' says the narrator, 'making a signal for the squadron to bring to, we, at day-break, saw the Wager a

considerable way to leeward of any of the other ships; and we soon perceived that she had lost her mizen-mast, and main top-sail yard. We immediately bore down to her, and found this disaster had arisen from the badness of her iron work; for all the chain plates to windward had given way, upon the ship's fetching a deep roll. This proved the more unfortunate to the Wager, as her carpenter had been on board the Gloucester ever since the 31st of March, and the weather was now too severe to permit him to return. Nor was the Wager the only ship of the squadron that had suffered in the late tempest; for, the next day, a signal of distress was made by the Anna pink, and, upon speaking with the master, we learnt that they had broke their fore-stay and the gammon of the bow-sprit, and were in no small danger of having all the masts come by the board; so that we were obliged to bear away until they had made all fast, after which we haled upon a wind again.'

But another mortification ensued, for next morning the squadron fell in with the coast of Terra del Fuego, when it was calculated they were ten degrees to the westward of it. They therefore stood to the S. W. till the 22d of April, 'when we were in 60 degrees of south latitude, and by our account near six degrees to the westward of cape Noir; and in this run, we had a series of as favourable weather, as could well be expected in that part of the world, even in a better season: so that this interval, setting the inquietude of our thoughts aside; was by far the most eligible of any we enjoyed from straits Le Maire to the west coast of America. This moderate weather continued, with little variation, till the 24th; but on the 24th, in the evening, the wind began to blow fresh, and soon encreased to a prodigious storm, and the weather became extremely thick; about midnight we lost sight of the other four ships of the squadron, which, notwithstanding the violence of the preceding storms, had hitherto kept in company with us. Nor was this our sole misfortune; for, the next morning, endeavouring to hand the top-sails, the clue-lines and bunt-lines broke, and the sheets being half flown, every seam in the top-sails was soon split from top to

bottom, and the main top-sail shook so strongly in the wind, that it carried away the top lanthorn, and endangered the head of the mast; however, at length some of the most daring of our men ventured upon the yard, and cut the sail away close to the reefs, though with the utmost hazard of their lives. At the same time, the fore-topsail beat about the yard with so much fury, that it was soon blown to pieces; and that we might have full employment, the mainsail blew loose, which obliged us to lower down the yard to secure the sail, and the fore-yard being likewise lowered, we lay to under a mizen: and besides the loss of our topsails, we had much of our other rigging broke, and lost a main studding-sail-boom out of the chains.'

They continued during the rest of April to struggle round Cape Horn, while the scurvy raged with such violence amongst the crew, that forty-three men died during the month on board the Centurion. Other storms assailed them, and it was believed on board the commodore's vessel, that all had perished but themselves. However, on the 9th of June they reached the island of Juan Fernandes, in such a deplorable condition, that only two hundred men remained alive, out of between four and five hundred that passed the straits of *Le Maire* in health and vigour, and these in so wretched a condition, that seamen, officers, servants, and boys, combined, were not enough to work the ships.

At this place they found the Tryal sloop which had lost thirty-four men, and then had only three capable of doing duty. The few who remained in health were so weak, that it occupied several days to remove the sick, of whom twelve died in the boats, and six each day for the first ten or twelve days. But at last the excellent water, fish, goats' flesh, and other supplies found on the island, arrested the progress of this dreadful mortality. On the 26th of June they were joined by the Gloucester, which was brought into the harbour by the people of the Centurion, which was not effected without repeated efforts, and which employed all hands nearly a month. Scarcely a man remained fit for duty on board this vessel, and two-thirds of the crew had been thrown overboard. About

the middle of August the Anna pink came in, which was a happy circumstance, as she had the provisions for the squadron on board. This was the only ship that joined, for the Severn and Pearl had put back to the Brazils, and the Wager was wrecked to the southward of Chiloe, with one hundred and thirty persons on board; of this number thirty reached Rio Grande on the coast of Brazil, in an open boat, and four others with the captain, the island of Chiloe, all the rest being lost, drowned, and died of want and fatigue.

Here the Anna pink was broke up as unfit for sea. Still however, the crews of the three remaining vessels, which on leaving England amounted to nine hundred and sixty-one men, were reduced to three hundred and thirty-five men and boys, a number unequal for manning the Centurion alone. About the beginning of September a vessel was discovered off the island, which all concluded to be a Spaniard, on which the Centurion was towed to sea, and gave chace to the stranger which was at night lost sight off; but in a few days another vessel was discovered which was thought to be one of Pizarro's squadron, and all hands in high spirits prepared for action. She proved to be a merchantman of four hundred and fifty tons burthen, and loaden with sugar, cloth, and a quantity of dollars. From the officers Mr. Anson learned the fate of Pizarro's squadron, which was of the greatest importance. On returning to Juan Fernandes, the prize, the Carmelo, was sent to cruise on the coast, and all the other vessels were assigned different stations in order to distress the Spanish trade in those seas.

On going to sea, the Tryal took a large vessel of six hundred tons, an excellent sailer, and as the Tryal had become leaky, and lost her masts, her crew was put on board of the prize, and she was sunk. Two other prizes were afterwards taken, and by the latter it was understood that the governor of Paita had heard of their being in those seas, and was therefore sending off the treasures inland, on which Mr. Anson determined to surprise the place.

'During our preparations,' says the narrator, 'the ships themselves stood towards the port with all the sail they could

make, being secure that we were yet at too great a distance to be seen. But about ten o' clock at night, the ships being then within five leagues of the place, lieutenant Brett, with the boats under his command, put off, and arrived at the mouth of the bay without being discovered; but no sooner had he entered it, than some people, on board a vessel riding at anchor there, perceived him, who instantly put off in their boat rowing towards the fort, shouting and crying, the English, the English dogs, &c. by which the whole town was suddenly alarmed, and our people soon observed several lights hurrying backward and forwards in the fort, and other marks of the inhabitants being in great motion. Lieutenant Brett, on this, encouraged his men to pull briskly up to the shore, that they might give the enemy as little time as possible to prepare for their defence. However, before our boats could reach the shore, the people in the fort had got ready some of their cannon, and pointed them towards the landing-place; and though in the darkness of the night it might be well supposed that chance had a greater share than skill in their direction, yet the first shot passed extremely near one of the boats, whistling just over the heads of the crew. This made our people redouble their efforts; so that they had reached the shore, and were in part disembarked by the time the second gun fired. As soon as our men landed, they were conducted by one of the Spanish pilots to the entrance of a narrow street, not above fifty yards distant from the beach, where they were covered from the fire of the fort; and being formed in the best manner the shortness of the time would allow, they immediately marched for the parade, which was a large square at the end of this street, the fort being one side of the square, and the governor's house another. In this march (though performed with tolerable regularity) the shouts and clamours of threescore sailors, who had been confined so long on shipboard, and were now for the first time on shore in an enemy's country, joyous as they always are, when they land, and animated besides in the present case with the hopes of an immense pillage; the huzza's, I say, of this spirited detachment, joined with the noise of their drums, and favoured

by the night, had augmented their numbers, in the opinion of the enemy, to at least three hundred; by which persuasion the inhabitants were so greatly intimidated, that they were much more solicitous about the means of their flight than of their resistance: so that though upon entering the parade, our people received a volley from the merchants who owned the treasure then in the town, and who, with a few others had ranged themselves in a gallery that ran round the governor's house, yet that post was immediately abandoned upon the first fire made by our people, who were thereby left in quiet possession of the parade.

'On this success lieutenant Brett divided his men into two parties, ordering one of them to surround the governor's house, and if possible to secure the governor, whilst he himself with the other marched to the fort, with an intent to force it. But, contrary to his expectation, he entered it without opposition; for the enemy, on his approach, abandoned it and made their escape over the walls. By this means the whole place was mastered in less than a quarter of an hour's time from the first landing, with no other loss than that of one man killed on the spot, and two wounded; one of which was the Spanish pilot of the Teresa, who received a slight bruise by a ball which grazed his wrist: indeed another of the company, the honourable Mr. Kepple, son to the earl of Albemarle, had a very narrow escape; for having on a jockey cap, one side of the peak was shaved off close to his temple by a ball, which however did him no farther injury.

'And now lieutenant Brett, after this success, placed a guard at the fort, and another at the governor's house, and appointed centinels at all the avenues of the town, both to prevent any surprise from the enemy, and to secure the effects in the place from being embezzled. And this being done, his next care was to seize on the custom-house where the treasure lay, and to examine if any of the inhabitants remained in the town, that he might know what farther precautions it was necessary to take; but he soon found that the numbers left behind were no ways formidable: for the greatest part of them (being in bed when the place was surprised) had run

away with so much precipitation, that they had not given themselves time to put on their clothes. And in this precipitate route the governor was not the last to secure himself, for he fled betimes half naked, leaving his wife, a young lady of about seventeen years of age, to whom he had been married but three or four days, behind him, though she too was afterwards carried off in her shift by a couple of centinels, just as the detachment, ordered to invest the house, arrived before it. This escape of the governor was an unpleasing circumstance, as Mr. Anson had particularly recommended it to lieutenant Brett to secure his person, if possible, in hopes that by that means we might be able to treat for the ransom of the place: but it seems his alertness rendered it impossible to seize him. The few inhabitants who remained were confined in one of the churches under a guard, except some stout negroes which were found in the place; these, instead of being shut up, were employed the remaining part of the night to assist in carrying the treasure from the custom-house and other places to the fort: however, there was care taken that they should be always attended by a file of musqueteers.

'The transporting the treasure from the custom-house to the fort, was the principal occupation of Mr. Brett's people, after he had got possession of the place. But the sailors, while they were thus employed, could not be prevented from entering the houses which lay near them, in search of private pillage. And the first things which occurred to them, being the clothes which the Spaniards in their flight had left behind them, and which, according to the custom of the country, were most of them either embroidered or laced, our people eagerly seized these glittering habits, and put them on over their own dirty trowsers and jackets, not forgetting, at the same time, the tye or bag-wig and laced hat, which were generally found with the clothes; and when this practice was once begun, there was no preventing the whole detachment from imitating it: and those who came latest into the fashion, not finding men's clothes sufficient to equip themselves, they were obliged to take up with women's gowns and petticoats, (which pro-

vided there was finery enough) they made no scruple of putting on, and blending with their own greasy dress. So that when a party of them thus ridiculously metamorphised first appeared before Mr. Brett, he was extremely surprised at their appearance, and could not immediately be satisfied they were his own people.'

In a wood near the town, above two hundred horsemen appeared with a number of trumpets, drums, and standards, and paraded about each day with the intention of intimidating the English. But Mr. Brett barricadoed the streets, and knowing the horse durst not attack him, the removal of the treasure was therefore conducted without hurry or confusion. When this business was finished Mr. Anson sent his prisoners on shore, who loudly extolled his kindness and humanity. The party on duty in the town were at the same time ordered on board, after setting fire to the place, and sinking six vessels which were found in the harbour. The plunder amounted to upwards of 30,000*l.* and the whole loss to the Spaniards was estimated at a million and a half of dollars.

Mr. Anson on proceeding to sea, fell in with the Gloucester, which had taken a prize worth 12,000*l.* The squadron now steered northward to cruise for the Manilla galeon, bound to Acapulco. It however was necessary first to water the ships, for which purpose, the island of Quibo was chosen. Here they scuttled and sunk two of the prizes, and then set sail to the coast of Mexico. After cruising for some time for the galeon, one of the boats surprised three negroes in a canoe, from whom they learned that the galeon had reached her port, but that she was ordered to sail back to Manilla on the 14th of March. This news was joyfully received, as she would be a more valuable prize on her return, when she had usually a richer cargo than any other vessel in any part of the globe.

The ships were judiciously arranged so as to observe the galeon, and when the time of her sailing arrived, all was impatience and alacrity; but a barge which was sent to reconnoitre was seen from the shore, and the galeon was detained, and not permitted to sail till the following season. When Mr. Anson learned this circumstance he determined to sur-

prise the place, but found that the state of the winds rendered this impracticable.

The commodore now ordered the vessels to rendezvous at a port thirty leagues to the westward of Acapulco, and that the Tryal's prize, and the Carmelo, and Carmin, should be sunk. After procuring wood, and water, preparations were made for crossing the Pacific ocean; but as the cutter had been left opposite Acapulco, the ships steered in that direction to take her up, and to land a number of prisoners they had on board. Not finding the cutter at her station, it was concluded she had been taken, but being driven to the southward she was found, the men being quite exhausted, having been at sea above six weeks. In the South Seas the Gloucester lost all her masts, had seven feet water in her hold, and a crew so weakly, that they were unable to work her. This determined Mr. Anson to remove her people on board the Centurion, and order her to be burnt. This was effected with difficulty, the men being so weak with the scurvy, not less than ten or twelve dying every day.

Driven about with the winds, and unable to make land, a general despondency seized the whole crew, who saw nothing but destruction as the ship was very leaky, and no hands able to work the pumps. In this dreadful situation they fortunately fell in with the island of Tinian. The sight of beautiful lawns and woods, and herds of cattle feeding, was a joyful and reviving spectacle. There was no inhabitants on this delightful island, except a few Indians employed in jerking beef, which was a happy circumstance, considering the defenceless state of the Centurion. The sick now recovered with wonderful rapidity. Here was a beautiful watering place, where tents were pitched until the ship was repaired, watered, and provided with provisions. But while all the crew were happy and jovial, a storm arose which drove the Centurion to sea, and being badly manned, it was believed in a few days, by the commodore and others left on shore, that she had perished. The carpenters and smiths were therefore employed in lengthening the bark, and rigging her for sea, intending to sail to China. However, at the end of twenty days, the Centurion returned, to the inexpressible joy of all parties.

A View of the Watering Place at Tinian.

Published by Mackenzie & Dent

The health of the crew being fully re-established, the Centurion sailed from Tinian, to Macao, but during the voyage, the ship laboured much in a hollow sea, which injured the rigging, and increased the leak. On coming to anchor in Macoa road, Mr. Anson enquired of the governor, how he should act to avoid giving offence to the Chinese, as his being a war-ship, he was determined not to pay the duty imposed upon merchant vessels. The governor advised him to carry the ship to a harbour about six miles from Macao, but declined supplying him with provisions unless he could procure an order from the viceroy of Canton. Mr. Anson therefore resolved to visit the viceroy, but the Chinese custom-house officer would not permit the boats to leave the ship; but when Mr. Anson threatened to go by force, permission was granted. However the officers and supercargoes of the English ships, advised him to leave the business to the management of the Hong merchants. After the delay of a month, these merchants resigned their commission, telling Mr. Anson, that they durst not approach such a great man as the viceroy. Threats were now employed, and a Chinese officer undertook to deliver a letter to the governor at Canton. In two days a mandarin of high rank, with a great retinue, arrived for the purpose of inspecting the Centurion. Mr. Anson received him in state, having dressed an hundred of his crew in the marine uniform.

'This mandarin appeared to be a person of very considerable parts, and endowed with more frankness and honesty, than is to be found in the generality of the Chinese. After the proper enquiries had been made, particularly about the leak, which the Chinese carpenters reported to be as dangerous as it had been represented, and consequently that it was impossible for the Centurion to proceed to sea without being refitted, the mandarin expressed himself satisfied with the account given in the commodore's letter. And this magistrate, as he was more intelligent than any other person of his nation that came to our knowledge, so likewise was he more curious and inquisitive, viewing each part of the ship with particular attention, and appearing greatly surprised at the largeness of the

lower deck guns, and at the weight and size of the shot. The commodore, observing his astonishment, thought this a proper opportunity to convince the Chinese of the prudence of granting him a speedy and ample supply of all he wanted: with this view he told the mandarin, and those who were with him, that, besides the demands he made for a general supply, he had a particular complaint against the proceedings of the custom-house of Macao; that at his first arrival the Chinese boats had brought on board plenty of greens, and variety of fresh provisions for daily use, for which they had always been paid to their full satisfaction, but that the custom-house officers at Macao had soon forbid them, by which means he was deprived those refreshments which were of the utmost consequence to the health of his men, after their long and sickly voyage; that as they, the mandarins, had informed themselves of his wants, and were eye-witnesses of the force and strength of his ship, they might be satisfied it was not for want of power to supply himself, that he desired the permission of the governor to purchase what provisions he stood in need of; that they must be convinced that the Centurion alone was capable of destroying the whole navigation of the port of Canton, or of any other port in China, without running the least risk from all the force the Chinese could collect; that it was true, this was not the manner of proceeding between nations in friendship with each other, but it was likewise true, that it was not customary for any nation to permit the ships of their friends to starve and sink in their ports, when those friends had money to supply their wants, and only desired liberty to lay it out; that they must confess, he and his people had hitherto behaved with great modesty and reserve, but that, as his wants were each day increasing, hunger would at last prove too strong for any restraint, and necessity was acknowledged in all countries to be superior to every other law; and therefore could not be expected that his crew would long continue to starve in the midst of that plenty to which their eyes were every day witnesses; to this the commodore added, (though perhaps with a less serious air) that if by the delay of supplying him with provision his men should be reduced to the

necessity of turning cannibals, and preying upon their own species, it was easy to be foreseen that, independent of their friendship to their comrades, they would, in point of luxury, prefer the plump well fed Chinese to their own emaciated shipmates. The first mandarin acquiesced in the justness of this reasoning, and told the commodore, that he should that night proceed to Canton; that on his arrival, a council of mandarins would be summoned, of which he himself was a member, and that by being employed in the present commission, he was of course the commodore's advocate; that, as he was fully convinced of the urgency of Mr. Anson's necessity, he did not doubt but, on his representation, the council would be of the same opinion; and that all that was demanded would be amply and speedily granted: and with regard to the commodore's complaint of the custom-house of Macao, he undertook to rectify that immediately by his own authority; for desiring a list to be given him of the quantity of provision necessary for the expence of the ship for a day, he wrote a permit under it, and delivered it to one of his attendants, directing him to see that quantity sent on board early every morning; and this order, from that time forwards, was punctually complied with.

'When this weighty affair was thus in some degree regulated, the commodore invited him and his two attendant mandarins to dinner, telling them at the same time, that if his provision, either in kind or quantity, was not what they might expect, they must thank themselves for having confined him to so hard an allowance. One of his dishes was beef, which the Chinese all dislike, though Mr. Anson was not apprised of it; this seems to be derived from the Indian superstition, which for some ages past has made a great progress in China. However, his guests did not entirely fast; for the three mandarins completely finished the white part of four large fowls. But they were extremely embarrassed with their knives and forks, and were quite incapable of making use of them: so that, after some fruitless attempts to help themselves, which were sufficiently awkward, one of the attendants was obliged to cut their meat in small pieces for them. But whatever

difficulty they might have in complying with the European manner of eating, they seemed not to be novices in drinking. The commodore excused himself in this part of the entertainment, under the pretence of illness; but there being another gentleman present, of a florid and jovial complexion, the chief mandarin clapped him on the shoulder, and told him by the interpreter, that certainly he could not plead sickness, and therefore insisted on his bearing him company; and that gentleman perceiving, that after they had dispatched four or five bottles of Frontiniac, the mandarin still continued unruffled, he ordered a bottle of citron-water to be brought up, which the Chinese seemed much to relish, and this being near finished, they arose from table, in appearance cool and uninfluenced by what they had drank, and the commodore having, according to custom, made the mandarin a present, they all departed in the same vessels that brought them.

'After their departure, the commodore with great impatience expected the resolution of the council, and the necessary licences for his refitment. On the 6th of January, in the morning, the governor of Janson, the commodore's advocate, sent down the viceroy of Canton's warrant for the refitment of the Centurion, and for supplying her people with all they wanted; and, the next day, a number of Chinese smiths and carpenters went on board, to agree for all the work by the great. They demanded at first, to the amount of a thousand pounds sterling for the necessary repairs of the ship, the boats, and the masts. This the commodore seemed to think an unreasonable sum, and endeavoured to persuade them to work by the day; but that proposal they would not hearken to; so it was at last agreed, that the carpenters should have to the amount of about six hundred pounds for their work; and that the smiths should be paid for their iron-work by weight, allowing them at the rate of three pounds a hundred nearly for the small work, and forty-six shillings for the large.

'This being regulated, the commodore exerted himself to get this most important business completed: for this purpose the first lieutenant was dispatched to Canton to hire two country vessels, called in their language junks, one of them

being intended to heave down by, and the other to serve as a magazine for the powder and ammunition: at the same time the ground was smoothed on one of the neighbouring islands, and a large tent was pitched for lodging the lumber and provisions, and near an hundred Chinese caulkers were soon set to work on the decks and sides of the ship. But all these preparations, and the getting ready the careening gear, took up a great deal of time; for the Chinese caulkers, though they worked very well, were far from being expeditious; and it was the 26th of January before the junks arrived; and the necessary materials, which were to be purchased at Canton, came down very slowly; partly from the distance of the place, and partly from the delays and backwardness of the Chinese merchants. And in this interval Mr. Anson had the additional perplexity to discover, that his fore-mast was broken asunder above the upper deck partners, and was only kept together by the fishes which had been formerly clapt upon it.

'It was the beginning of April before they had new rigged the ship, stowed their provisions and water on board, and had fitted her for the sea; and before this time the Chinese grew very uneasy, and extremely desirous that she should be gone; either not knowing, or pretending not to believe, that this was a point the commodore was as eagerly set on as they could be. On the 3d of April, two mandarin boats came on board from Macao to urge his departure; and this having been often done before, though there had been no pretence to suspect Mr. Anson of any affected delays, he at this last message answered them in a determined tone, desiring them to give him no further trouble, for he would go when he thought proper, and not before. On this rebuke the Chinese (though it was not in their power to compel him to be gone) immediately prohibited all provisions from being carried on board him, and took such care that their injunctions should be complied with, that from that time forwards nothing could be purchased at any rate whatever.'

The Spaniards at Manilla had heard that the Centurion was careening at this place, and had formed a project for burning her while in this defenceless state; but disagreeing amongst themselves, the attempt was never made.

'On the 6th of April, the Centurion weighed from the Typa, and warped to the southward; and, by the 15th, she was got into Macao road, completing her water as she past along, so that there remained now very few articles more to attend to, and her whole business being finished by the 19th, she, at three in the afternoon of that day, weighed and made sail and stood to sea.

'The commodore was now got to sea, with his ship very well refitted, his stores replenished, and an additional stock of provisions on board: his crew too was somewhat reinforced; for he had entered twenty-three men during his stay at Macao, the greatest part of which were Lascars or Indian sailors, and some few Dutch. He gave out at Macao, that he was bound to Batavia, and thence to England; and though the westerly monsoon was now set in, when that passage is considered as impracticable, yet, by the confidence he had expressed in the strength of his ship, and the dexterity of his people, he had persuaded not only his own crew but the people at Macao likewise, that he proposed to try this unusual experiment; so that there were many letters put on board him by the inhabitants of Canton and Macao for their friends at Batavia

'But his real design was of a very different nature: for he knew, that instead of one annual ship from Acapulco to Manilla, there would be this year, in all probability, two; since, by being before Acapulco, he had prevented one of them from putting to sea the preceding season. He therefore resolved to cruise for these returning vessels off cape Espiritu Santo, on the island of Samal, which is the first land they always make in the Philippine islands. And as June is generally the month in which they arrive there, he doubted not but he should get to his intended station time enough to intercept them. It is true, they were said to be stout vessels, mounting forty guns apiece, and carrying above five hundred hands, and might be expected to return in company; and he himself had but two hundred and twenty-seven hands on board, of which near thirty were boys: but this disproportion of strength did not deter him, as he knew his ship to be much better fitted for a sea-engagement than theirs, and as

he had reason to expect that his men would exert themselves in the most extraordinary manner, when they had in view the immense wealth of these Manilla galeons.

'This project the commodore had resolved on in his own thoughts, ever since his leaving the coast of Mexico. And the greatest mortification which he received, from the various delays he had met with in China, was his apprehension lest he might be thereby so long retarded as to let the galeons escape him. Indeed, at Macao it was incumbent on him to keep these views extremely secret; for there being a great intercourse and a mutual connexion of interests between that port and Manilla, he had reason to fear, that, if his designs were discovered, intelligence would be immediately sent to Manilla, and measures would be taken to prevent the galeons from falling into his hands: but being now at sea, and entirely clear of the coast, he summoned all his people on the quarter-deck, and informed them of his resolution to cruise for the two Manilla ships, of whose wealth they were not ignorant. He told them he should chuse a station, where he could not fail of meeting with them; and though they were stout ships, and full manned, yet, if his own people behaved with their accustomed spirit, he was certain he should prove too hard for them both, and that one of them at least could not fail of becoming his prize: he further added, that many ridiculous tales had been propagated about the strength of the sides of these ships, and their being impenetrable to cannon-shot; that these fictions had been principally invented to palliate the cowardice of those who had formerly engaged them; but he hoped there were none of those present weak enough to give credit to so absurd a story: for his own part, he did assure them upon his word, that, whenever he met with them, he would fight them so near, that they should find, his bullets, instead of being stopped by one of their sides, should go through them both.

'This speech of the commodore's was received by his people with great joy: for no sooner had he ended, than they expressed their approbation, according to naval custom, by three strenuous cheers, and all declared their determination to succeed or

perish whenever the opportunity presented itself. And now their hopes, which since their departure from the coast of Mexico, had entirely subsided, were again revived; and they all persuaded themselves, that, notwithstanding the various casualities and disappointments they had hitherto met with, they should yet be repaid the price of their fatigues, and should at last return home enriched with the spoils of the enemy; for firmly relying on the assurances of the commodore, that they should certainly meet with the vessels, they were all of them too sanguine to doubt a moment of mastering them; so that they considered themselves as having them already in their possession. And this confidence was so universally spread through the whole ship's company, that, the commodore having taken some Chinese sheep to sea with him for his own provision, and one day enquiring of his butcher, why, for some time past, he had seen no mutton at his table, asking him if all the sheep were killed, the butcher very seriously replied, that there were indeed two sheep left, but that if his honour would give him leave, he proposed to keep those for the entertainment of the general of the galeons.

'It was the last of May when they arrived of cape Botel Tobago, and the month of June being that in which the Manilla ships are usually expected, the Centurion's people were now waiting each hour with the utmost impatience for the happy crisis which was to balance the account of all their past calamities. As from this time there was but small employment for the crew, the commodore ordered them almost every day to be exercised in the management of the great guns, and in the use of their small arms. This had been his practice, more or less, at all convenient seasons during the whole course of his voyage; and the advantages which he received from it, in his engagement with the galeon, were an ample recompence for all his care and attention. Indeed, it should seem that there are few particulars of a commander's duty of more importance than this, how much soever it may have been sometimes overlooked or misunderstood. Indeed, it must be owned, that if a dexterity in the use of small arms, for instance,

hath been sometimes less attended to on board our ships of war than might have been wished for, it hath been rather owing to unskilful methods of teaching it, than to negligence: for the common sailors, how strongly soever attached to their own prejudices, are very quick sighted in finding out the defects of others, and have ever shewn a great contempt for the formalities practised in the training of land troops to the use of their arms; but when those who have undertaken to instruct the seamen have contented themselves with inculcating only what was useful, and that in the simplest manner, they have constantly found their people sufficiently docile, and the success hath even exceeeded their expectation. Thus, on board Mr. Anson's ship, where they were only taught the shortest method of loading with cartridges, and were constantly trained to fire at a mark, which was usually hung at the yard-arm, and where some little reward was given to the most expert: the whole crew, by this management, were rendered extremely skilful, quick in loading, all of them good marksmen, and some of them most extraordinary ones.

'It was the last of May, N. S. as hath been already said, when the Centurion arrived off cape Espiritu Santo; and consequently the next day began the month in which the galeons were to be expected. The commodore therefore made all necessary preparations for receiving them, having hoisted out his long boat, and lashed her alongside, that the ship might be ready for engaging, if they fell in with the galeons in the night. All this time too he was very solicitous to keep at such a distance from the cape, as not to be discovered: but it hath been since learnt, that, notwithstanding his care, he was seen from the land; and advice of him was sent to Manilla, where it was at first disbelieved, but on reiterated intelligence (for it seems he was seen more than once) the merchants were alarmed, and the governor was applied to, who undertook (the commerce supplying the necessary sums) to fit out a force consisting of two ships of thirty-two guns, one of twenty guns, and two sloops of ten guns each, to attack the Centurion on her station: and some of these vessels did actually weigh with this view; but the principal ship not being ready, and the monsoon being

against them, the commerce and the governor disagreed, and the enterprise was laid aside.

'As the month of June advanced, the expectancy and impatience of the commodore's people each day increased. At last the certainty of the arrival of these vessels was dwindled down to probability only, and that probability became each hour more and more doubtful. However, on the 20th of June, O. S. being just a month from their arrival on their station, they were relieved from this state of uncertainty, when, at sun-rise, they discovered a sail from the mast-head, in the S. E. quarter. On this, a general joy spread through the whole ship; for they had no doubt but this was one of the galeons, and they expected soon to see the other. The commodore instantly stood towards her, and at half an hour after seven they were near enough to see her from the Centurion's deck; at which time the galeon fired a gun, and took in her top-gallant sails, which was supposed to be a signal to her consort, to hasten her up; and therefore the Centurion fired a gun to leeward, to amuse her. The commodore was surprised to find, that in all this time the galeon did not change her course, but continued to bear down upon him; for he hardly believed, what afterwards appeared to be the case, that she knew his ship to be the Centurion, and resolved to fight him.

'About noon the commodore was little more than a league distant from the galeon, and could fetch her wake, so that she could not now escape; and, no second ship appearing, it was concluded that she had been separated from her consort. Soon after, the galeon haled up her fore-sail, and brought to under top-sails, with her head to the northward, hoisting Spanish colours, and having the standard of Spain flying at the top-gallant mast-head. Mr. Anson, in the mean time, had prepared all things for an engagement on board the Centurion, and had taken all possible care, both for the most effectual exertion of his small strength, and for the avoiding the confusion and tumult, too frequent in actions of this kind. He picked out about thirty of his choicest hands and best marksmen, whom he distributed into his tops, and who fully answer-

ed his expectation, by the signal services they performed. As he had not hands enough remaining to quarter a sufficient number to each great gun, in the customary manner, he therefore, on his lower tier, fixed only two men to each gun, who were to be solely employed in loading it, whilst the rest of his people were divided into different gangs of ten or twelve men each, which were constantly moving about the decks, to run out and fire such guns as were loaded. By this management he was enabled to make use of all his guns; and instead of firing broadsides with intervals between them, he kept up a constant fire without intermission, whence he doubted not to procure very signal advantages; for it is common with the Spaniards to fall down upon the decks when they see a broadside preparing, and to continue in that posture till it is given; after which they rise again, and, presuming the danger to be for some time over, work their guns and fire with great briskness, till another broadside is ready: but the firing gun by gun, in the manner directed by the commodore, rendered this practice of theirs impossible.

'The Centurion being thus prepared, and nearing the galeon apace, there happened, a little after noon, several squalls of wind and rain, which often obscured the galeon from their sight; but whenever it cleared up, they observed her resolutely lying to; and towards one o'clock; the Centurion hoisted her broad pennant and colours, she being then within gun-shot of the enemy. And the commodore observing the Spaniards to have neglected clearing their ship till that time, as he then saw them throwing overboard cattle and lumber, he gave orders to fire upon them with the chace-guns, to embarass them in their work, and prevent them from completing it, though his general directions had been not to engage till they were within pistol-shot. The galeon returned the fire with two of her stern-chace; and, the Centurion getting her spritsail yard fore and aft, that if necessary she might be ready for boarding, the Spaniards in a bravado rigged their spritsail yard fore and aft likewise. Soon after, the Centurion came abreast of the enemy within pistol-shot, keeping to the leeward with the view of preventing them from putting before the

wind, and gaining the port of Jalapay, from which they were about seven leagues distant. And now the engagement began in earnest, and, for the first half hour, Mr. Anson over-reached the galeon, and lay on her bow; where, by the great wideness of his ports he could traverse almost all his guns upon the enemy, whilst the galeon could only bring a part of hers to bear. Immediately on the commencement of the action, the mats, with which the galeon had stuffed her netting, took fire, and burnt violently, blazing up half as high as the mizen-top. This accident (supposed to be caused by the Centurion's wads) threw the enemy into great confusion, and at the same time alarmed the commodore, for he feared lest the galeon should be burnt, and lest he himself too might suffer by her driving on board him: but the Spaniards at last freed themselves from the fire, by cutting away the netting, and tumbling the whole mass which was in flames into the sea. But still the Centurion kept her first advantageous position, firing her cannon with great regularity and briskness, whilst at the same time the galeon's decks lay open to her top-men, who, having at their first volley driven the Spaniards from their tops, made prodigious havock with their small arms, killing or wounding every officer but one that ever appeared on the quarter-deck, and wounding in particular the general of the galeon himself. And though the Centurion, after the first half hour, lost her original situation, and was close alongside the galeon, and the enemy continued to fire briskly for near an hour longer, yet at last the commodore's grape-shot swept their decks so effectually, and the number of their slain and wounded was so considerable, that they began to fall into great disorder, especially as the general, who was the life of the action, was no longer capable of exerting himself. Their embarassment was visible from on board the commodore; for the ships were so near, that some of the Spanish officers were seen running about with great assiduity, to prevent the desertion of their men from their quarters: but all their endeavours were in vain; for after having, as a last effort, fired five or six guns with more judgment than usual, they gave up the contest; and, the galeon's colours being singed off the ensign staff in the beginning of the engagement, she struck the

standard at her main-top-gallant mast head, the person, who was employed to do it, having been in imminent peril of being killed, had not the commodore, who perceived what he was about, given express orders to his people to desist from firing.

'Thus was the Centurion possessed of this rich prize, amounting in value to near a million and half of dollars. She was called the Nostra Signora de Cabadonga, and was commanded by the general Don Jeronimo de Montero, a Portuguese by birth, and the most approved officer for skill and courage of any employed in that service. The galeon was much larger than the Centurion, had five hundred and fifty men and thirty-six guns mounted for action, besides twenty-eight piedreroes in her gunwale, quarters, and tops, each of which carried a four pound ball. She was very well furnished with small arms, and was particularly provided against boarding, both by her close quarters, and by a strong net-work of two inch rope, which was laced over her waist, and was defended by half pikes. She had sixty-seven killed in the action, and eighty-four wounded, whilst the Centurion had only two killed, and a lieutenant and sixteen wounded, all of whom but one recovered: of so little consequence are the most destructive arms in untutored and unpractised hands.'

There was found on board of the prize, 1,313,843 pieces of eight, and 35,682 ounces of virgin silver, besides other valuable commodities. But the joy of the captors was nearly damped on a sudden by a most tremendous accident: for no sooner had the galeon struck, then one of the lieutenants coming to congratulate Mr. Anson on his prize, whispered him at the same time, that the Centurion was dangerously on fire near the powder-room. The commodore received this dreadful news with apparent composure; and gave such judicious directions as happily succeeded in extinguishing the fire. The securing of the prisoners was the next important point, for they were above double the number of the English, 'and some of them, when they were brought on board the Centurion, and had observed how slenderly she was manned, and the large proportion which the striplings bore to the rest, could not help expressing themselves with great indignation to be

thus beaten by a handful of boys. The method which was taken to hinder them from rising, was by placing all but the officers and the wounded in the hold, where, to give them as much air as possible, two hatchways were left open; but then (to avoid all danger whilst the Centurion's people should be employed upon the deck) there was a square partition of thick planks, made in the shape of a funnel, which enclosed each hatchway on the lower deck, and reached to that directly over it on the upper deck. These funnels served to communicate the air to the hold better than could have been done without them; and, at the same time, added greatly to the security of the ship; for they being seven or eight feet high, it would have been extremely difficult for the Spaniards to have clambered up; and still to augment that difficulty, four swivel guns loaded with musket-bullets were planted at the mouth of each funnel, and a centinel with a lighted match constantly attended, prepared to fire into the hold amongst them, in case of any disturbance. Their officers, which amounted to seventeen or eighteen, were all lodged in the first lieutenant's cabin, under a constant guard of six men; and the general, as he was wounded, lay in the commodore's cabin with a centinel always with him; and they were all informed, that any violence or disturbance would be punished with instant death. And that the Centurion's people might be at all times prepared, if, notwithstanding these regulations, any tumult should arise, the small arms were constantly kept loaded in a proper place, whilst all the men went armed with cutlasses and pistols; and no officer ever pulled off his clothes, and when he slept had always his arms lying ready by him.'

The commodore steered with his prize direct for China. When he arrived in the river of Canton, the Chinese were astonished at the great disproportion between the captives and the vanquished, and also at the humanity with which the prisoners were treated. Here they were all liberated, seemingly in compliance with the viceroy's request.

Finding it impossible to victual his ship for his voyage to England without orders from the court, the commodore determined, contrary to the entreaties of the European supercar-

goes, to go in person to Canton. Accordingly, his barge was fitted up, and, with a select crew, he set off to visit the viceroy. The merchants endeavoured to prevent him from his purpose; but he well knew, that, without an order from the viceroy, he would not be permitted to ship the stores which he had purchased.

When waiting to procure an audience, a fire broke out in Canton, which raged with such fury as to threaten the entire destruction of the city. In the general confusion, the viceroy sent and implored the assistance of the commodore. Mr. Anson immediately repaired to the spot, 'carrying with him about forty of his people; who, upon this occasion, exerted themselves in such a manner, as in that country was altogether without example: for they were rather animated than deterred by the flames and falling buildings, amongst which they wrought; so that it was not uncommon to see the most forward of them tumble to the ground on the roofs, and amidst the ruins of houses, which their own efforts brought down with them. By their boldness and activity the fire was soon extinguished to the amazement of the Chinese; and the buildings being all on one floor, and the materials slight, the seamen, notwithstanding their daring behaviour, happily escaped with no other injuries, than some considerable bruises.' Before the English were called in, one hundred shops, and eleven streets full of warehouses were consumed.

The services rendered by the English on this occasion, extorted the gratitude of the Chinese; and induced the viceroy to grant Mr. Anson an audience, at which he promised to issue a licence immediately for permitting stores to be shipped on board the Centurion. In a few days all were completed, and the Centurion with her prize dropped down to Macao. Here the commodore sold the galeon for 6000 dollars; and sailed with the Centurion on the 5th day of January, 1743, and on the 15th of June following, came safe to an anchor at Spithead. But that the signal perils which had so often threatened them in the preceding part of the enterprise, might pursue them to the very last, Mr. Anson learnt on his arrival, that there was a French fleet of considerable force cruising

in the chops of the channel, which, by the account of their position, he found the Centurion had run through, and had been all the time concealed by a fog. Thus was this expedition finished, when it had lasted three years and nine months; after having, by its event, strongly evinced this important truth, That though prudence, intrepidity, and perseverance united, are not exempted from the blows of adverse fortune; yet in a long series of transactions, they usually rise superior to its power, and in the end rarely fail of proving successful.

HISTORY

OF THE SETTLEMENTS

IN

NEW SOUTH WALES.

NEW Holland, the largest island in the world, was discovered by the Spaniards, some time previous to the year 1609. Captain Dampier, and several Dutch navigators explored part of the west coast; but the discovery of the east was reserved for the immortal Cook. The greatest extent of this immense country from east to west, is about 2400 English miles, and, from north to south, not less than 2300.

After the loss of the American colonies, the British government still considered it desirable to employ felons in remote and rising settlements. Accordingly, in 1786, six transports, and three store ships were engaged to convey persons designed to form a settlement at Botany bay, under the direction of captain Phillip. Stores and provisions necessary for their use

and consumption were also provided. Of the latter, sufficient for two years were put on board; and among the former were tools, implements of agriculture, and such other articles as were considered necessary to a colonial establishment.

The whole complement of marines, including one major commandant, four captains, twelve lieutenants, twelve serjeants, twelve corporals, eight drummers, and one hundred and sixty privates, with an adjutant and quarter-master, amounted to two hundred and twelve; besides which, twenty-eight women, wives of marines, carrying with them seventeen children, were permitted to accompany their husbands. The number of convicts was seven hundred and seventy-eight, of whom five hundred and fifty-eight were men.

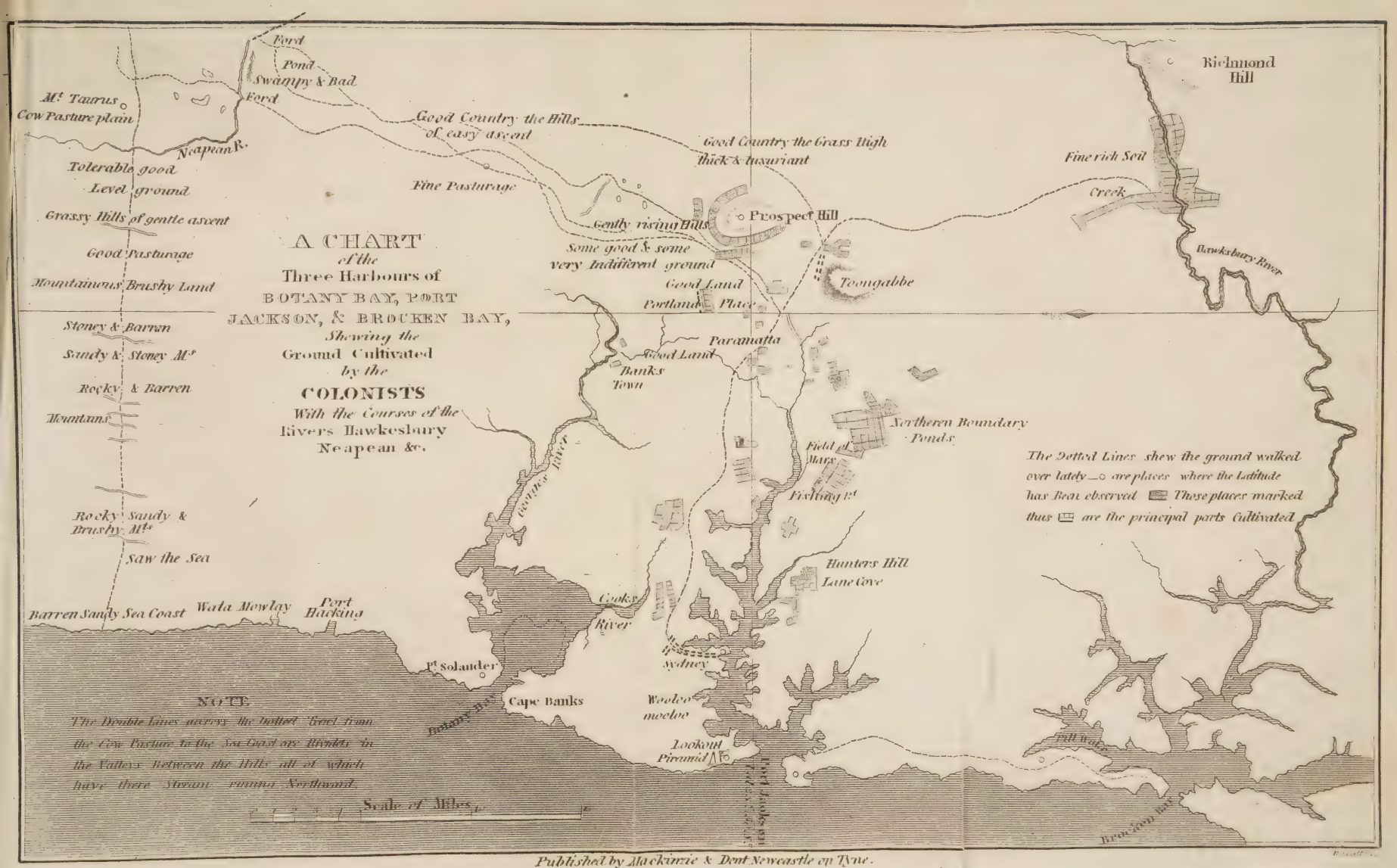
This expedition sailed on the 13th of May, 1787; and completed the voyage in eight months and one week (the whole fleet being safe at anchor on the 20th of January, 1788), a voyage, which before it was undertaken, the mind hardly dared venture to contemplate, and on which it was impossible to reflect without some apprehensions as to its termination. In the course of that time they had sailed fifteen thousand and sixty-three miles; had touched at the American and African continents; and had at last rested within a few days' sail of the antipodes of their native country, without meeting any accident, in a fleet of eleven sail, nine of which were merchantmen that had never before sailed in that distant and imperfectly explored ocean; and when it was considered that there was on board a large body of convicts, many of whom were embarked in a very sickly state, they might be deemed peculiarly fortunate, that of the whole number of all descriptions of persons coming to form a new settlement, only thirty-two had died since their leaving England, among whom were to be included one or two deaths by accident; although previous to their departure, it had been conjectured, that before they should have been a month at sea, one of the transports would have been converted into an hospital ship. Fortunately, however, it happened otherwise. Their provisions were excellent, and they had all partaken liberally of refreshments at the cape of Good Hope and Rio de Janeiro.

The governor having found Botany bay extremely inconvenient, determined on examining the adjacent harbours of Port Jackson and Broken bay; and for that purpose set off the day following the arrival of the Sirius and her convoy, in three open boats, accompanied by some of the officers of the settlement.

The coast, as he drew near Port Jackson, wore a most unpromising appearance, and the natives every where greeted the little fleet with shouts of defiance and prohibition, the words 'Warra, warra,' Go away, go away, resounding wherever they appeared. The governor's utmost expectation, as he drew near the harbour, being to find what captain Cook, as he passed it by, thought might be found, shelter for a boat; he was most agreeably surprised at discovering, on his entrance, a harbour capable of affording security for a large fleet.

In one of the coves of this noble and capacious harbour, he determined to fix the future seat of his government, it having been found to possess a sufficiency of water and soil. Having completed his research in three days, he returned to Botany bay, and gave directions for an immediate removal thence; a circumstance which gave general satisfaction, as nothing had been discovered in that place which could excite a wish to pass another day in it. This removal would have taken place the morning following his return, but at day-light they were surprised by the appearance of two strange sail in the offing. Various were the conjectures of what nation these could be, and whence they had arrived. It was soon known, however, that they were two French ships, Le Bousole and L'Astrolabe, under the command of M. de la Perouse, then on a voyage of discovery.

Governor Phillip, with a party of marines and some artificers, arrived in Port Jackson, and anchored off the mouth of the cove intended for the settlement, on the evening of the 25th; and in the course of the following day, sufficient ground was cleared for encamping the officer's guard, and the convicts who had landed in the morning. The spot chosen for this purpose was at the head of the cove, near a run of fresh water, which stole silently through a very thick wood, the stillness of which



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had then, for the first time since the creation, been interrupted by the rude sound of the labourer's axe, and the downfal of its ancient inhabitants:—a stillness and tranquillity which, from that day, were to give place to the noise of labour, the confusion of camps and towns, and the busy hum of its new possessors.

This impressive scene has not escaped the notice of the painter and the poet. The ingenious Mr. Wedgewood modelled a medallion from a small piece of fine clay sent from Sydney Cove. The design is allegorical; it represents Hope encouraging Art and Labour, under the influence of Peace, to pursue the employments necessary to give security and happiness to an infant settlement.

In the evening of this day, the whole of the party then present were assembled at the point where they had first landed in the morning, and on which a flag-staff had been purposely erected, and an union jack displayed; when the marines fired several vollies, between which the healths of his majesty and the royal family, with success to the new colony, were most cordially drank. The day, which had been extremely fine, concluded with the safe arrival of the Sirius and the convoy from Botany bay,—thus terminating the voyage with the same good fortune which had from its commencement been so conspicuously their friend and companion.

The disembarkation of the troops and convicts took place from the following day, until the whole were landed. The confusion that ensued will not be wondered at, when it is considered, that every man stepped from the boat literally into a wood. Parties of people were every where heard and seen variously employed; some in clearing ground for the different encampments; others in pitching tents, or bringing up such stores as were more immediately wanted; and the spot which had so lately been the abode of silence and tranquillity was now changed to that of noise, clamour, and confusion; but after a short time, order gradually prevailed. As the woods were opened and the ground cleared, the various encampments were extended, and all wore the appearance of regularity and decorum.

Every person belonging to the settlement being landed, the number amounted to 1030 persons. The tents for the sick were placed on the west side; and it was observed, with concern, that their numbers were fast increasing. The scurvy, that had not appeared during the passage, now broke out; which, aided by a dysentery, began to fill the hospital, and several died. In addition to the medicines that were administered, every species of esculent plants that could be found in the country were procured for them: wild celery, spinage, and parsley, fortunately grew in great abundance: those who were in health, as well as the sick, were very glad to introduce them into their messes, and found them a pleasant as well as wholesome addition to the ration of salt provisions.

The public stock, consisting of one bull, four cows, one bull calf, one stallion, three mares, and three colts, was removed to a spot at the head of the adjoining cove, which was cleared for a small farm, intended to be placed under the direction of a person brought out by the governor.

Some ground having been prepared near his excellency's house on the east side, the plants from Rio de Janeiro and the cape of Good Hope were safely brought on shore; and the new settlers soon had the satisfaction of seeing the grape, the fig, the orange, the pear, and the apple, those delicious fruits of the Old, taking root and establishing themselves in their New World.

No very good fortune had hitherto attended the live stock belonging to the settlement, but the heaviest blow was yet to come. About this time the two bulls and four cows, belonging to government, and to the governor, having been left for a time by the man who was appointed to attend them, strayed into the woods, and though they were traced to some distance, never could be recovered. This was a loss for some time irreparable.

Exemplary punishments seemed about this period to be growing daily more necessary. Stock was often killed, huts and tents broke open, and provisions constantly stolen, particularly about the latter end of the week; as many of those unthrifty people, taking no care to husband their provisions

through the seven days that they were intended to last them, had consumed the whole by the end of the third or fourth day. One of this description made his week's allowance of flour (eight pounds) into cakes, which he devoured at one meal; he was soon after taken speechless and senseless, and died the following day, a loathsome putrid object. James Bennett, a youth of seventeen years of age, was executed for breaking open and robbing a tent. An elderly woman, a convict, having been detected in stealing a flat-iron, hung herself to the ridge-pole of her tent, but was fortunately discovered in time to preserve her life. What feeling could tempt her to this rash action it would be difficult to guess, as her being a convict too plainly proved that she could survive the loss of character.

Heavy rains and a terrible hurricane did much damage and impeded the improvement of the settlement. Several of the convicts, who wandered without the lines, were murdered by the natives, who at this time were suffering severely from the small-pox. Some provisions were received from the cape of Good Hope, but the uncertainty of the time when more might arrive, made it necessary to reduce the ration to two-thirds of each species, and a ship was dispatched to Batavia to obtain a cargo of flour, beef, and rice.

Governor Phillip, who had uniformly directed every undertaking in person since the formation of the colony, went down in the morning of the 7th of September, to the South Head, accompanied by two officers, to give some instructions to the people employed in erecting a column at that place. As he was returning to the settlement, he received information, by a boat which had landed some gentlemen in the lower part of the harbour, who were going on an excursion to Broken bay, that Bennillong, the native who escaped in May, had been seen there among many others of his countrymen that had assembled to feast upon a whale, which after being attacked by our people in the harbour, and overturning a boat whereby three lives were lost, had got on shore in Manly bay. Anxious to see him again, the governor, after taking some arms from the party at the Look-out, went down and landed

at the place where the whale was lying. There he not only saw Bennillong, but Cole-be also, who had made his escape from the governor's house a few days after his capture. At first his excellency trusted himself alone with these people; but the few months that Bennillong had been away so altered his person, that the governor, until joined by his companions, did not perfectly recollect his old acquaintance. This native had been always much attached to captain Collins, one of the gentlemen then with the governor, and testified with much warmth his satisfaction at seeing him again. Several articles of wearing apparel were given to him and his companions (taken for that purpose from the people in the boat, but who, all but one man, remained on their oars to be ready in case of any accident); and a promise was exacted from his excellency by Bennillong to return in two days with more, and also with some hatchets or tomahawks. The cove was full of natives, allured by the attractions of a whale-feast; and it being remarked, during this conference, that twenty or thirty of them were drawing into a circle round the governor and his friends, (who had most inexcusably exposed themselves,) the governor proposed retiring to the boat by degrees; but Bennillong, who had presented to him several natives by name, pointed out one, whom the governor, thinking to take particular notice of, stepped forward to meet, holding out both his hands towards him. The savage not understanding this civility, and perhaps thinking that he was going to seize him as a prisoner, lifted a spear from the grass with his foot, and fixing it on his throwing-stick, in an instant darted it at the governor. The spear entered a little above the collar-bone, and had been discharged with such force that the barb of it came through on the other side. Several other spears were thrown, but happily no further mischief was effected. The spear was with difficulty broken by one of the gentlemen present; and while the governor was walking down to the boat, the people landed with the arms; but of four muskets which they brought on shore, one only could be fired.

This accident gave cause to the opening of a communication between the natives and the settlement; which, although

attended with such an unpromising beginning, it was hoped would be followed with good consequences.

While the colonists were suffering the greatest privations, the Lady Julian transport arrived, but, instead of a supply of provisions, brought 220 female convicts, many of whom were old, diseased, and utterly unfit for labour! The Surprise, Neptune, and Scarborough transports followed, and entered the harbour in a very unhealthy state. From these ships 200 sick were landed. The west side of the harbour now afforded a scene truly distressing and miserable; upwards of thirty tents were pitched in front of the hospital; (the portable one not being yet put up) all of which, as well as the adjacent huts, were filled with people, many of whom were labouring under the complicated diseases of scurvy and the dysentery, and others in the last stage of either of these terrible disorders, or yielding to the attacks of an infectious fever.

The appearance of those who did not require medical assistance was lean and emaciated. Several of these miserable people died in the boats as they were rowing on shore, or on the wharfs as they were lifted out of the boats; both the living and the dead exhibited more horrid spectacles than had ever been witnessed in that country. All this was to be attributed to confinement, and of the worst species, confinement in a small space, and in irons, not put on singly, but many of them chained together. On board the Scarborough a plan had been formed to take the ship, which would certainly have been attempted, but for a discovery which was fortunately made by one of the convicts who had too much principle to enter into it. This necessarily, on board that ship, occasioned much future circumspection; but captain Marshall's humanity considerably lessened the severity which the insurgents might naturally have expected. On board the other ships, the masters, who had the entire direction of the prisoners, never suffered them to be at large on deck, and but few at a time were permitted there. This consequently gave birth to many diseases. It was said that on board the Neptune several had died in irons; and what added to the horror of such a circumstance was, that their deaths were concealed, for the purpose of sharing their

allowance of provisions, until chance, and the offensiveness of a corpse, directed the surgeon, or some one who had authority in the ship, to the spot where it lay.

A contract had been entered into by government with Messrs. Calvert, Camden, and King, merchants, of London, for the transporting of 1000 convicts, and government engaged to pay 17*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* per head for every convict they embarked. This sum being as well for their provisions as for their transportation, no interest for their preservation was created in the owners, and the dead were more profitable (if profit alone was consulted by them, and the credit of their house was not at stake) than the living.

The total number of sick on the last day of June was 349. The melancholy which closed the month appeared unchanged in the beginning of July. The morning generally opened with depositing in the burying-ground the miserable victims of the night. On the 13th, there were 488 persons under medical treatment, at and about the hospital—a dreadful sick list!

About this time, several parties of convicts set off, both in boats and by land, with the hopeless intention of reaching China, or some other civilized country. All means were used to discover and bring back these poor wretches, and to prevent others from following their example. Several other transports shortly after arrived, and the colonists obtained an increased allowance of provisions. Many of the convicts were also emancipated, amongst whom was the noted George Barrington. At the end of five years governor Phillip resigned the government, and sailed to England, taking with him two natives who solicited permission to attend him.

We will here as briefly and clearly as possible offer a sketch of the character and manners of the native tribes adjoining our settlements, by which means our readers will be better able to account for the future actions of this singular race.

Very few men or women among them can be said to be tall, and still fewer were well made. At one time a dwarf, a female, appeared among them, who, when she stood upright, measured about four feet two inches: none of her limbs were

disproportioned, nor were her features unpleasant; and she had a child at her back. The other natives seemed to make her an object of their merriment. In general, indeed almost universally, the limbs of these people were small; of most of them the arms, legs, and thighs were very thin. This, no doubt, is owing to the poorness of their living, which is chiefly on fish; otherwise the fineness of the climate, co-operating with the exercise which they take, might have rendered them more muscular. Those who live on the sea-coast depend entirely on fish for their sustenance; while the few who dwell in the woods subsist on such animals as they can catch. The very labour necessary for taking these animals, and the scantiness of the supply, keep the wood natives in as poor a condition as their brethren on the coast. It has been remarked, that these natives had longer arms and legs than those who lived about Sydney. This might proceed from their being compelled to climb the trees, after honey, and the small animals which resort to them, such as the flying squirrel and oppossum, which they effect by cutting with their stone hatchets notches in the bark of the tree of a sufficient depth and size to receive the ball of the great toe. The first notch being cut, the toe is placed in it; and while the left arm embraces the tree, a second is cut at a convenient distance to receive the other foot. By this method they ascend with astonishing quickness, always clinging with the left hand and cutting with the right, resting the whole weight of the body on the ball of either foot. One of the gum trees was observed by a party on an excursion, which was judged to be about 130 feet in height, and which had been notched by the natives at least eighty feet.

The features of many of these people were far from unpleasing, particularly of the women; in general, the black bushy beards of the men, and the bone or reed which they thrust through the cartilage of the nose, tended to give them a disgusting appearance; but in the women, that feminine delicacy which is to be found among white people was to be traced even upon their sable cheeks; and, though entire strangers to the comforts and conveniences of clothing, yet

they sought with a native modesty to conceal by attitude what the want of covering would otherwise have revealed: bringing to the recollection of those who observed them,

> 'The bending statue which enchants the world,'

though it must be owned, that the resemblance consisted solely in the position.

Both sexes use the disgusting practice of rubbing fish oil into their skins; but they are compelled to this as a guard against the effects of the air and of musquitoes and flies; some of which are large, and bite or sting with much severity. But the oil, together with the perspiration from their bodies, produces, in hot weather, a most intolerable stench. Some of them have been seen with the entrails of fish frying in the burning sun upon their heads, until the oil ran down over their foreheads. To their hair, by means of the yellow gum, they fasten the front teeth of the kanguroo, and the jaw-bones of a large fish, human teeth, pieces of wood, feathers of birds, the tail of the dog, and certain bones taken out of a fish, not unlike human teeth. The natives who inhabit the shore of Botany bay divide their hair into small parcels, each of which they mat together with gum, and form them into lengths like the thrums of a mop. On particular occasions they ornament themselves with red and white clay, using the former when preparing to fight, the latter for the more peaceful amusement of dancing. The fashion of these adornments was left to each person's taste; and some, when decorated in their very best manner, looked perfectly horrible. Nothing could appear more terrible than a black and dismal face, with a large white circle drawn round each eye, waved lines down each arm, thigh, and leg; some with chequers daubed and lines drawn over each rib: these presented most spectre-like figures. Previous to either a dance or a combat, they were always found busily employed in these necessary preliminaries. Both sexes are ornamented with scars upon the breast, arms, aud back, which are cut with broken pieces of the shell that they use at the end

of the throwing-stick. By their keeping open these incisions, the flesh grows up between the sides of the wound, and after a time, skinning over, forms a large weal or seam.

The women are early subjected to an uncommon mutilation of the two first joints of the little finger of the left hand. This operation is performed when they are very young, and is done under an idea that these joints of the little finger are in the way when they wind their fishing-lines over the hand. Very few were to be met with who had not undergone this ceremony, and these appeared to be held in contempt.

Few deformities of person were noticed among them; once or twice the print of inverted feet have been found on the sand. Round shoulders or hump-backs were never observed in any one instance, yet no women could be more inattentive to their young than these savages; frequent instances occurred of infants rolling into the fire, and being dreadfully burnt, while their mothers slept beside them; indeed, these people are extremely difficult to awaken when once asleep.

Their sight is peculiarly fine; indeed, their existence very often depends upon the accuracy of it; for a short-sighted man (a misfortune unknown among them, and not yet introduced by fashion, nor relieved by the use of glass) would never be able to defend himself from their spears, which are thrown with amazing force and velocity.

The colour of these people is not in all cases the same: some have been seen who, even when cleansed from the smoke and filth which were always to be found on their persons, were nearly as black as the African negro; while others have exhibited only a copper or Malay colour. The natural covering of their heads is not wool, as in most other black people, but hair; this was particularly remarked in Bennillong after his return from England, where some attention to his dress had been paid; he was found to have long black hair: black, indeed, was the general colour, though some few were seen to have it of a reddish cast.

Their noses are flat, nostrils wide, eyes much sunk in the head, and covered with thick eye-brows; in addition to which, they wear tied round the head, a net, the breadth of the fore-

head, made of the fur of the oppossum, which, when wishing to see very clearly, they draw over their eye-brows, thereby contracting the light. Their lips are thick, and the mouth extravagantly wide; but when opened discovers two rows of white, even, and sound teeth. Many have very prominent jaws.

Their habitations are as rude as imagination can conceive. The hut of the woodman is made of the bark of a single tree, bent in the middle, and placed on its two ends on the ground, affording shelter to only one miserable tenant. These they never carry about with them. On the sea coast the huts were larger, formed of pieces of bark from several trees put together in the form of an oven, with an entrance, and large enough to hold six or eight people. The fire was always at the mouth of the hut, rather within than without; and the interior was in general the most nasty smoke-dried place that can be conceived. Besides these bark huts, they made use of excavations in the rocks. At the mouths of these excavations was noticed a luxuriancy of soil; and on turning up the ground, it was found rich with shells and other manure. These proved a valuable resource to the settlement; as many loads of shells were burnt into lime, while the other parts were wheeled into the gardens.

In their huts and their caves they lie down indiscriminately mixed, men, women, and children together; and appear to possess under them much the same enjoyment as may be supposed to be found by the brute beast in his den, sheltered from the weather, and, if not disturbed by external enemies, the comforts of sleep.

The extreme soundness with which they sleep invites jealousy, or revenge for other wrongs, to arm the hand of the assassin. Many instances of this occurred; one of which was rendered remarkable by the murderer first taking a sleeping infant from the arms of the father whom he was about to deprive of existence; the child he brought to Sydney to be taken care of.

Being themselves sensible of the danger they were in while asleep, they eagerly sought to obtain puppies of the spaniel

and terrier breeds from the settlers, which they considered as invaluable guardians during the night.

The natives on the sea-coast, and who are the most known, have little other support than fish. Men, women, and children, are employed in procuring them; but the means used are different according to the sex of the fisher; the men killing them with the fiz-gig, while the females use the hook and line. The fiz-gig is made of the wattle; has a joint in it, fastened by gum; is from fifteen to twenty feet in length, and armed with four barbed prongs; the barb being a piece of bone secured by gum.

The lines used by the women are made by themselves of the bark of a small tree which they find in the neighbourhood. Their hooks are made of the mother-of-pearl oyster, which they rub on a stone until it assumes the shape that they want. Though these hooks are not barbed, they catch fish with them with great facility. 'We have sometimes seen,' says captain Hunter, 'in fine weather, a man lying across a canoe, with his face in the water, and his fiz-gig immersed, ready for darting: in this manner he lies motionless, and by his face being a little under the surface, he can see the fish distinctly; but were his eyes above, the tremulous motion of the surface, occasioned by every light air of wind, would prevent his sight: in this manner they strike at the fish with so much certainty, that they seldom miss their aim. The women are chiefly employed in the canoes, with lines and hooks; the lines appear to be manufactured from the bark of various trees which we found here, of a tough stringy nature, and which, after being beaten between two stones for some time, becomes very much like, and of the same colour as a quantity of oakum, made from old rope: this they spin and twist into two strands; in fact, I never saw a line with more than two. Their hooks are commonly made from the inside of different shells, or mother-of-pearl; the talons of birds, such as those of hawks, they sometimes make this use of; but the former are considered as best. In this necessary employment of fishing, we frequently saw a woman with two or three children in a miserable boat, the highest part of which was not six inches above the surface of the water, washing almost in the edge of a surf, which would

frighten an old seaman to come near, in a good and manageable vessel. The youngest child, if very small, lies across the mother's lap, from whence, although she is fully employed in fishing, it cannot fall; for the boat being very shallow, she sits in the bottom, with her knees up to her breast, and between her knees and body the child lies perfectly secure. The men also dive for shell-fish, which they take off from the rocks under water; we frequently saw them leap from a rock into the surf or broken water, and remain a surprising time under: when they rise to the surface, whatever they have gathered they throw on shore, where a person attends to receive it, and has a fire ready kindled for cooking. They have no other method of dressing their food than that of broiling. Boiling water they have no conception of; for when one of the boats was hauling the seine, one of the sailors had put a pot on the fire ready to dress some fish, and when the water was boiling some fish were put in; but several natives, who were near, and who wished to have more fish than had been given them, seeing the fish put into the pot, and no person watching them, a native put his hand into the boiling water to take the fish out, and was of course scalded, and exceedingly astonished.'

While fishing, the women sing. In their canoes they always carry a small fire laid upon sea-weed or sand, with which, when desirous of eating, they dress their meal.

The woods, exclusive of the animals which they occasionally find in their neighbourhood, afford them but little sustenance; a few berries, the yam and fern-root, the flowers of the different banksia, and at times some honey, make up the whole vegetable catalogue.

The natives who live in the woods, and on the margins of rivers, are compelled to seek a different subsistence, and are driven to a harder exercise of their abilities to procure it; one instance of which has been given in the manner of their climbing the trees: they have, besides, a laborious method of ensnaring animals.

These wood natives make a paste formed of the fern-root and the ant bruised together; in the season, they also add the eggs of this insect.

How will the refined ear of gallantry be wounded at reading an account of the courtship of these people! It has been said, that there was a delicacy visible in the manners of the females. Is it not shocking then to think, that the prelude to love should be violence? yet such it is in their country, and violence of the most brutal nature. These unfortunate victims of lust and cruelty (it will admit of no better term) are, it is believed, always selected from the women of a different tribe from that of the males, (for they ought not to be dignified with the title of men) and with whom they are at enmity. Secrecy is necessarily observed, and the poor wretch is stolen upon in the absence of her protectors. Being first stupified with blows, inflicted with clubs or wooden swords, on the head, back, and shoulders, every one of which is followed by a stream of blood, she is then dragged through the woods by one arm, with a perseverance and violence that it might be supposed would displace it from its socket. The lover, or rather ravisher, is regardless of the stones or broken pieces of trees which may lie in his route, being anxious only to convey his prize, in safety, to his own party, where a scene ensues too shocking to relate. This outrage is not resented by the relations of the female, who only retaliate by a similar outrage when they find an opportunity. This is so constantly the practice among them, that even the children make it a play-game or exercise.

The women thus ravished become their wives, are incorporated into the tribes to which their husbands belong, and but seldom quit them for others.

Many of the men do not confine themselves to one woman. Bennillong, previous to his visit to England, was possessed of two wives, both living with him and attending on him wherever he went. One, named Ba-rang-a-roo, lived with him at the time he was seized and taken a captive to the settlement; and before her death he had brought off from Botany bay, by the violence before described, Go-roo-bar-roo-bool-lo; and she continued with him until his departure for England. It was understood that all the natives on the banks of the Hawkesbury had two wives; and indeed, on the whole, more instances were known of plurality of wives than of monogamy.

In no one instance had they been observed to have children by both women; and in general, as might be expected, the two females were always jealous of, and quarrelling with each other; though it was understood, that the first wife claimed a priority of attachment, and an exclusive right to the conjugal embrace; while the second or latter choice was compelled to be the drudge and slave of both.

Chastity was a virtue in which, certainly, neither sex prided themselves; yet the females, having discovered that the white people thought it shameful to be seen naked, became, at least many of them, extremely delicate and reserved in this respect when before them; but when in the presence of only their own people, they were perfectly indifferent about their appearance.

During the time of parturition these people suffer none but females to be present. War-re-weer, Bennillong's sister, being taken in labour while in the town, an opportunity offered of observing them in that critical juncture; of which some of the women, who were favourites with the girl, were desired to avail themselves; and from them were obtained the following particulars:—

During her labour one female was employed in pouring cold water from time to time on the abdomen, while another, tying the end of a small line round War-re-weer's neck, with the other end rubbed her own lips until they bled. She derived no actual assistance from those about her, the child coming into the world by the sole effort of nature; neither did any one receive it from her; but one of the white women divided the umbilical cord and washed the child, which the mother readily permitted, although the other natives strongly objected to it. The poor creature appeared much exhausted.

Bennillong's wife, a few hours after she had been delivered of a child, was seen walking about alone and picking up sticks to mend her fire. The infant, whose skin appeared to have a reddish cast, was lying on a piece of soft bark on the ground.

The child thus produced is by the mother carried about for some days on a piece of soft bark, and, as soon as it acquires strength enough, is removed to the shoulders, where it sits

with its little legs across her neck; and, taught by necessity, soon catches hold of her hair, to preserve itself from falling.

The reddish cast of the skin soon gives place to the natural hue; a change that is much assisted by the smoke and dirt in which, from the moment of their existence, these little wretches are nurtured. The parents begin early to decorate them after the custom of the country; for as soon as the hair of the head can be taken hold of, fish bones and teeth of animals are fastened to it with gum. White clay ornaments their little limbs; and the females suffer the extraordinary amputation which they term Mal-gun before they have quitted their seat on their mother's shoulders.

At about a month or six weeks old the child receives its name. This is generally taken from some of the objects constantly before their eyes, such as a bird, a beast, or a fish, and is given without any ceremony.

From their earliest infancy the boys are accustomed to throwing the spear, and to the habit of defending themselves from it. They begin by throwing reeds at each other, and are soon very expert. They also, from the time when they can run, until prompted by manhood to realize their sports, amuse themselves with stealing the females, and treat them at this time very little better than they do then.

Between the ages of eight and sixteen, the males and females undergo the operation which they term gna-noong, viz., that of having the septum of the nose bored, to receive a bone or reed, which among them is deemed a very great ornament, though the articulation is frequently rendered very imperfect by it. Between the same years also the males receive the qualifications which are given to them by losing one front tooth. Lieutenant-colonel Collins, several years judge-advocate and secretary of the colony, was so fortunate as to be present at this remarkable ceremony. We will detail some interesting circumstances which he noted.

On the 25th of January, 1795, the natives assembled in considerable numbers, for the purpose of performing this ceremony; as several youths well known in the settlement, never having submitted to the operation, were now to be made men.

Pe-mul-wy, a wood native, and many strangers came in; but the principals in the operation not being arrived from Cam-mer-ray, the intermediate nights were to be passed in dancing; for which purpose they were ornamented in their best manner, and certainly displayed a variety of tastes. One was painted white to the middle, his beard and eyebrows excepted; others were distinguished by large white circles round the eyes, which rendered them as terrific as can be well imagined. It was not until the 2d of February that the party was complete. In the evening of that day the people from Cam-mer-ray arrived, among whom were those who were to perform the operation. They were painted after the manner of their country, were mostly provided with shields, and all armed with clubs, spears, and throwing sticks. The place selected for this extraordinary exhibition was at the head of Farm Cove, where a space had been for some days prepared by clearing it of grass, stumps, &c.; it was an oval figure, the dimensions of it twenty-seven feet by eighteen, and was named Yoo-lahng.

When colonel Collins reached the spot, he found the party from the north shore armed, and standing at one end of it; at the other were the boys who were to be given up for the purpose of losing each a tooth, with their several friends who had accompanied them. The ceremony that ensued was long, and contained many mystical rites; but they all related to an exercise which forms the principal business of their lives, the use of the spear. They next commenced their preparations for striking out the tooth. The first subject they took was a boy of about ten years of age; and he was seated on the shoulders of another native, who sat on the grass, as appears in this plate. The gum was then lanced with a sharp bone; and the end of a stick was applied as high upon the tooth as the gum would admit of, when the operator with a large stone struck out the tooth. The young sufferer was then girded with a wooden sword, and thus became privileged to seize any female he chose for a wife.

The shedding of blood, among these savages, is always followed by punishment; the party offending being compelled to expose his person to the spears of all those who choose to throw

CEREMONY OF INITIATING A BOY INTO THE CLASS OF MEN.

at him; for in such punishments the ties of consanguinity or friendship are of no avail. On the death of a person, whether male or female, old or young, the friends of the deceased must be punished, as if the death was occasioned by their neglect. This is sometimes carried farther than can be reconcileable with humanity, as the following instance will confirm:—

A native had been murdered. His widow, being obliged to avenge his death on some of the relations of the murderer, and meeting with a little girl, who was someway related to him, took her to a retired place, where, with a club and a pointed stone, she beat her so cruelly that she was taken to the town almost dead. In the head were six or seven deep incisions, and one ear was divided to the bone, which, from the nature of the instrument with which she was beaten, had been greatly injured. The poor child died in a few days. The natives to whom this circumstance was mentioned expressed no concern at it, but seemed to think it quite right, necessary, and inevitable. It was understood that whenever women have occasion for this sanguinary revenge, they never exercise it but on their own sex, not daring to strike a male. The little victim of this revenge had, from her quiet tractable manners, been much beloved in the town; and, which is a singular trait in the inhumanity of this proceeding, had, from the death of the man, requested that his widow might be fed at the officer's hut, where she herself resided. Savage indeed must be the custom and the feelings which could arm the hand against this unoffending child's life. Her death was not avenged, perhaps because they considered it as an expiatory sacrifice.

Wat-te-wal, the man who committed the crime for which this little girl suffered so cruelly, escaped unhurt from the spears of Bennillong, Cole-be, and several other natives; and was afterwards received by them as usual, and actually lived with the murdered man's widow till he was killed in the night by Cole-be.

The first peculiarity remarkable in their funeral ceremonies is the disposal of their dead: their young people they consign to the grave; those who have passed the middle age are burnt. Bennillong burnt the body of his wife Ba-rang-a-roo, who was,

at the time of her decease, turned of fifty. The interment of Ba-loo-der-ry was accompanied with many ceremonies. From being one day in perfect health, he was the next taken to the hospital extremely ill, and attended by Bennillong, who was found singing over him, and making use of those means which ignorance and superstition pointed out to him to recover his health. The patient lay extended on the ground, appearing to be in much pain. Bennillong applied his mouth to those parts of the boy's body which he thought affected, breathing strongly on them, and singing: at times he waved over him some boughs dipped in water, holding one in each hand, and appearing much interested for him. On the following morning he was visited by a car-rah-dy, who had come express from the north shore. This man threw himself into various distortions, applied his mouth to different parts of his patient's body, and at length, after appearing to labour much, and to be in great pain, spit out a piece of bone (which he had previously procured). Here the farce ended, and the car-rah-dy withdrew to partake of such fare as the friends of the sick lad had to give him. During the night Ba-loo-der-ry's fever increased, and he died early in the following morning. This was immediately notified by a violent clamour among the women and children; and, Bennillong soon after going to government-house, it was agreed between him and his excellency that the body should be buried in his garden.

But to return to the colony. Major Grose now assumed the government; and his first act was to substitute the military for the civil authority, which alteration did not please the free settlers. A plan was now adopted for carrying cattle from India, but the speculation was unfortunate. The rations were again reduced, and the colonists experienced many privations; yet several improvements were made, the sugar cane was planted and the cultivation of Zealand flax commenced.

In 1794, captain Paterson succeeded governor Grose; and four gentlemen, Messrs. Muir, Palmer, Skirving, and Margurot, arrived as convicts for the crime of sedition.

About this time, the natives adjusted some affairs of honour in a convenient spot near the brick-fields. Those who lived

about the south shore of Botany bay brought with them a stranger of an extraordinary appearance and character; even his name had something uncommon in the sound, Gome-boak. He had been several days on his journey from the place where he lived, which was far southward. In height he was not more than five feet two or three inches; but by far the most muscular, square, and well-formed native that had been seen in that country. He fought well; his spears were remarkably long, and he defended himself with a shield that covered his whole body. The inhabitants of Sydney had the satisfaction of seeing him engage with some of their friends, and of observing that neither their persons nor reputations suffered any thing in the contest. When the fight was over, on some of the gentlemen praising to them the martial talents of this stranger, the strength and muscle of his arm, and the excellence of his sight, they admitted the praise to be just; but hinted, that, with all these excellencies, when opposed to them, he had not gained the slightest advantage; yet, unwilling to have him too highly thought of, they, with horror in their countenances, assured those with whom they talked, that Gome-boak was a cannibal.

The contests which had lately taken place very frequently in the town of Sydney, and the neighbourhood of it, among the natives, had been attended by many of those people who inhabited the woods, and came from a great distance inland. Some of the prisoners gathered from time to time rumours and imperfect accounts of the existence of the cattle lost in 1788; two of them, who were employed by some officers in shooting, resolved on ascertaining the truth of these reports, and trying by different excursions to discover the place of their retreat. On their return from the first outset they made, which was subsequent to the governor's arrival, they reported that they had seen them. Being, however, at that moment too much engaged in perfecting the civil regulations which he had in view for the settlement, his excellency could not himself go to that part of the country where they were said to have been found, but he detached a person on whom he could depend. His report was so satisfactory, that the governor set

off for Parramatta, attended by a small party; when, after travelling two days in a direction S. S. W. from the settlement at Prospect Hill, he crossed the river named by Mr. Phillip the Nepean; and, to his great surprise and satisfaction, fell in with a very fine herd of cattle, upwards of forty in number, grazing in a pleasant and apparently fertile pasturage. The day being far advanced when he saw them, he rested for the night in the neighbourhood, hoping in the morning to be gratified with a sight of the whole herd.

The country where they were found grazing was remarkably pleasant to the eye; every where the foot trod on thick and luxuriant grass; the trees were thinly scattered, and free from underwood, except in particular spots; several beautiful flats presented large ponds, covered with ducks and the black swan, the margins of which were fringed with shrubs of the most delightful tints, and the ground rose from these levels into hills of easy ascent.

The question how these cattle came hither appeared easy of solution. The few that were lost in 1788, two bulls and five cows, travelled without interruption in a western direction until they came to the banks of the Nepean. Arrived there, and finding the crossing as easy as when the governor had forded it, they came at once into a well-watered country, and amply stored with grass. From this place they had no inducement to move. They were in possession of a country equal to their support, and in which they remained undisturbed.

It was a most pleasant circumstance, to have in the woods of New Holland a thriving herd of wild cattle.

Mr. Bass, the surgeon of the Reliance, having procured a boat, sailed southward, and discovered that Van Dieman's land was an island separated from New Holland by a strait. Coal at this time was also discovered near the Hawkesbury. But the unruly behaviour of the Irish convicts, and the perpetual commission of crimes, retarded the prosperity of the colony. From the knowledge that was daily gained of the inhuman habits and customs of these people, their being so thinly scattered through the country ceased to be matter of surprise. It was constantly seen, that from some trifling cause or other,

they were continually living in a state of warfare; to this must be added their brutal treatment of their women, who are themselves equally destructive to the measure of population, by the horrid and cruel custom of endeavouring to cause miscarriage; this their female acquaintance effect by pressing the body in such a way, as to destroy the infant in the womb; which violence not unfrequently occasions the death of the unnatural mother also. To this they have recourse, to avoid the trouble of carrying the infant when born, which, when it is very young, or at the breast, is the duty of the woman. The operation for this destructive purpose is termed mee-bra. The burying an infant (when at the breast) with the mother, if she should die, is another shocking cause of the thinness of population among them.

In 1800, the enterprising captain Flinders visited various parts of this immense island. A play-house was opened, and a gazette was established at Sydney, but the gaol at Parramatta was twice burnt. After these occurences governor King assumed the command of the settlements, and lieutenant governor Collins was sent to form a settlement at Port Phillip in Van Dieman's land. Most of the settlers at Norfolk island were ordered to join his party.

In 1809, governor Bligh assumed the government, at which time, the total stock of the colony consisted of 411 male horses, 529 female ditto; 118 bulls, 5115 cows; 3771 oxen; 10,807 male sheep, 22,451 female ditto; 936 male goats, 2039 female ditto; 9820 male pigs, and 9548 female ditto.

A manufactory for coarse woollens was also established; tan-yards, potteries, breweries, and salt-works were erected in different parts. The shops were particularly respectable, and decorated with much taste. Articles of female apparel and ornament were greedily purchased; for the European women in the settlement spared no expense in ornamenting their persons, and in dress each seemed to vie with the other in extravagance.

Spirits were also bought up with astonishing rapidity; and, when prohibited, will ever be obtained by some means or other, and have been known to sell as high as thirty shillings

per bottle; the general price by the retailer, however, has been from ten to sixteen shillings per bottle.

The following is to be considered as a full weekly ration, which was issued from the stores whenever there was a sufficiency without a prospect of want, to those who were in the employ of government:---Seven pounds of salt beef, or four pounds of salt pork; eight pounds of flour or meal, or an addition of a quarter of a pound of wheat to each pound, if it cannot be ground; pease or other pulse three pounds; six ounces of sugar in lieu of butter. The same quantity was to be given by their employers to those who were indented to settlers, &c.; but as frequent alterations were necessarily made, according to the pressure of circumstances, the deficiency was generally made up with maize.

There were 9356 inhabitants in the settlement, out of which number upwards of 6000 supported themselves, and the rest were victualled and clothed at the expense of the crown. Most men of a trade or profession pursued their calling; and labourers were either employed by settlers to cultivate their lands, and in various occupations, to work in different gangs, where they could be serviceable.

The children born in this colony from European parents, were very robust, comely, and well made; nor was there a solitary instance of one being naturally deformed. They were remarkably quick of apprehension; learned any thing with uncommon rapidity; and greatly improved in good manners, promising to become a fine race of people.

Although the climate is variable, yet it is very healthy, and uncommonly fine for vegetation. Most of the disorders which exist in the settlement are the fruits of intemperance and debauchery, the necessary result of that fatal addiction to decay. Frost is known but little; at least, ice is very seldom seen; and snow has never yet appeared since the establishment of the colony: yet on the highest ridges of the remoter mountains, which has never yet been passed, snow is to be seen for a long time together; and this circumstance is a proof of their elevation. The usual weather in New South Wales is uncommonly bright and clear, and the common weather there,

in spring and autumn, is equal to the finest summer day in England.

Governor Bligh's government proved very unpopular, and at last major Johnson marched at the head of the military to the government-house, and put the governor under arrest, which measure was also supported by the principal inhabitants. This proceeding was resented by the government at home, major Johnson was recalled, tried, and *cashiered*, and colonel Macquarrie appointed governor. This gentleman has conducted the affairs of the colony with great propriety and firmness. The Blue Mountains, west from the settlements, have been passed, and a fine level and fertile country has been discovered. Indeed, the colony has improved in a rapid manner, and has become a station of considerable importance to the merchants of Great Britain.

We shall close this account of New South Wales, collected from Collins' History and Hunter's Voyage, with the remarks of captain M'Konochie, just published.

There are probably at present, says this writer, not less than 40,000 acres of land in constant cultivation, besides 100,000 acres in pasture. In 1810, the population is generally stated in the parliamentary report at 10,454. At the same rate of increase, it may be deemed now to exceed 20,000, of whom from 15 to 18,000 will probably be free settlers, subsisting by their own industry and exertion, a large proportion of them, indeed, the descendants of convicts, not men who have themselves incurred the penalties of the law.

In 1809, a system of monopoly prevailed to such extent, as to have enabled the merchants, it is said, to demand occasionally as far as 1000 per cent. profit on their European importations; notwithstanding which, such was the general insecurity of property arising from the lawless state of the colony, the domestic manufactures, in spite of every encouragement which was given them, were also in a state of utter inferiority and depression. In 1810, the firmer rule of the present government, general Macquarrie, had already begun to produce some effect; but its operation, together with that of the greater facility subsequently afforded to importation from Europe, has been rather

injurious perhaps to the manufactures, which are still extremely coarse, and consist exclusively of some flannel and linen cloths, the native flax employed in the other being found, however, of most excellent quality; together with the preparation of leather, pottery, and salt, for the domestic market, of kanguroo skins for exportation, and of the coarse machinery, as wind and water mills, &c., used in the agricultural labours of the settlers. In 1810, the commerce was still also very limited indeed, consisting principally of importations from England in the government transports, all other English vessels being excluded, unless under peculiar circumstances, by the terms of the East India company's charter; together with some direct trade with India, and some occasional supplies obtained from an American with an assorted cargo looking for a market, or from a whaler prepared to purchase refreshments wherever she might touch, here as elsewhere, with equivalents suited to the anticipated demands. The articles from England were principally public stores for the use of the colony, with some private ventures of haberdashery, &c., laid in by the crews of the vessels conveying them; those from India were piece goods, spirits, and refuse European wares; while those finally procured from desultory visitors were chiefly articles of luxury, as superior sorts of wearing apparel, wine, sweetmeets, &c. The staple returns were kanguroo skins, whale and seal oil, and wool; together with such articles of naval equipment, as provisions, spars, coal, &c., as the trading vessels themselves might require; to which some trifling and occasional traffic with the islands of the Pacific, added a small uncertain supply of sandal and other cabinet woods, chiefly bought up, together with the kanguroo skins, by the masters of such transports as were subsequently bound to Canton. The whole average value of the trade is nowhere mentioned.

BLIGH'S VOYAGE

IN THE

SOUTH SEAS.

THIS interesting narrative is written by Mr. Bligh, whose arrest and deposition from the government of New South Wales, was mentioned in the preceding article, and whose crew mutinied, and sent him adrift in an open boat in the South Seas.

'In August, 1787,' says Mr. Bligh, 'I was appointed to command the Bounty, a ship of 215 tons burthen, carrying four six-pounders, four swivels, and forty-six men, including myself and every person on board. We sailed from England in December, 1787, and arrived at Otaheite the 26th of October, 1788. On the 4th of April, 1789, we left Otaheite, with every favourable appearance of completing the object of the voyage, in a manner equal to my most sanguine expectations. We had on board 1015 fine bread-fruit plants, besides many other valuable fruits of that country, which, with unremitting attention, we had been collecting for three and twenty weeks, and which were now in the highest state of perfection.

'On the 11th of April, I discovered an island in latitude 18 deg. and 52 min. S. and longitude 200 deg. 19 min. E., by the natives called Whytootackee. On the 24th we anchored at Annamooka, one of the Friendly islands; from which, after completing our wood and water, I sailed on the 27th, having every reason to expect, from the fine condition of the plants, that they would continue healthy.

'On the evening of the 28th, owing to light winds, we were not clear of the islands, and at night I directed my course towards Tofoa. The master had the first watch; the gunner the middle watch; and Mr. Christian, one of the mates, the morning watch. This was the turn of duty for the night.

'Just before sun-rising, Mr. Christian, with the master at arms, gunner's mate, and Thomas Burket, seaman, came into my cabin while I was asleep, and seizing me, tied my hands with a cord behind my back, and threatened me with instant death, if I spoke or made the least noise: I, however, called so loud as to alarm every one; but they had already secured the officers who were not of their party, by placing centinels at their doors. There were three men at my cabin door, besides the four within; Christian had only a cutlass in his hand, the others had muskets and bayonets. I was hauled out of bed, and forced on deck in my shirt, suffering great pains from the tightness with which they had tied my hands. I demanded the reason of such violence, but received no other answer than threats of instant death, if I did not hold my tongue. Mr. Elphinston, the master's mate, was kept in his birth; Mr. Nelson, botanist, Mr. Peckover, gunner, Mr. Ledward, surgeon, and the master, were confined to their cabins; and also the clerk, Mr. Samuel, but he soon obtained leave to come on deck. The fore hatchway was guarded by centinels; the boatswain and carpenter were, however, allowed to come on deck, where they saw me standing abaft the mizen-mast, with my hands tied behind my back, under a guard, with Christian at their head.

'The boatswain was now ordered to hoist the launch out, with a threat, if he did not do it instantly, to take care of himself.

'The boat being out, Mr. Hayward and Mr. Hallet, midshipmen, and Mr. Samuel, were ordered into it; upon which I demanded the cause of such an order, and endeavoured to persuade some one to a sense of duty; but it was to no effect: "Hold your tongue, sir, or you are dead this instant," was constantly repeated to me.

'The master, by this time, had sent to be allowed to come

on deck, which was permitted; but he was soon ordered back again to his cabin.

'I continued my endeavours to turn the tide of affairs, when Christian changed the cutlass he had in his hand for a bayonet that was brought to him, and holding me with a strong gripe by the cord that tied my hands, he with many oaths threatened to kill me immediately if I would not be quiet: the villains round me had their pieces cocked and bayonets fixed. Particular people were now called on to go into the boat, and were hurried over the side: whence I concluded that with these people I was to be set adrift. I therefore made another effort to bring about a change, but with no other effect than to be threatened with having my brains blown out. The boatswain and seamen, who were to go in the boat, were allowed to collect twine, canvas, lines, sails, cordage, an eight and twenty gallon cask of water, and the carpenter to take his tool chest. Mr. Samuel got 150 pounds of bread, with a small quantity of rum and wine. He also got a quadrant and compass into the boat; but was forbidden, on pain of death, to touch either map, ephemeris, book of astronomical ohservations, sextant, time-keeper, or any of my surveys or drawings.

'The mutineers now hurried those they meant to get rid of into the boat. When most of them were in, Christian directed a dram to be served to each of his own crew. I now unhappily saw that nothing could be done to effect the recovery of the ship: there was no one to assist me, and every endeavour on my part was answered with threats of death. The officers were called, and forced over the side into the boat, while I was kept apart from every one, abaft the mizen-mast; Christian, armed with a bayonet, holding me by the bandage that secured my hands. The guard round me had their pieces cocked; but, on my daring the ungrateful wretches to fire, they uncocked them.

'It is of no moment for me to recount my endeavours to bring back the offenders to a sense of their duty: all I could do was by speaking to them in general; but my endeavours were of no avail, for I was kept securely bound, and no one but the guard suffered to come near me. To Mr. Samuel I

am indebted for securing my journals and commission, with some material ship papers. Without these I had nothing to certify what I had done, and my honour and character might have been suspected, without my possessing a proper document to have defended them. All this he did with great resolution, though guarded and strictly watched. He attempted to save the time-keeper, and a box with all my surveys, drawings, and remarks for fifteen years past, which were numerous; when he was hurried away, with "Damn your eyes, you are well off to get what you have." Much altercation took place among the mutinous crew during the whole business: some swore "I'll be damned if he does not find his way home, if he gets any thing with him," (meaning me;) others, when the carpenter's chest was carrying away, "Damn my eyes, he will have a vessel built in a month." While others laughed at the helpless situation of the boat, being very deep, and so little room for those who were in her. As for Christian, he seemed meditating instant destruction on himself and every one. I asked for arms, but they laughed at me, and said, I was well acquainted with the people where I was going, and therefore did not want them; four cutlasses, however, were thrown into the boat, after we were veered astern.

'When the officers and men, with whom I was suffered to have no communication, were put into the boat, they only waited for me, and the master at arms informed Christian of it; who then said—"Come, captain Bligh, your officers and men are now in the boat, and you must go with them; if you attempt to make the least resistance you will certainly be put to death;" and, without any farther ceremony, holding me by the cord that tied my hands, with a tribe of armed ruffians about me, I was forced over the side, where they untied my hands. Being in the boat, we were veered astern by a rope. A few pieces of pork were then thrown to us, and some clothes, also the cutlasses I have already mentioned; and it was now that the armourer and carpenters called out to me that they had no hand in the transaction. After having undergone a great deal of ridicule, and been kept some time to make sport for these unfeeling wretches, we were at length cast adrift in the open

ocean. Having little or no wind, we rowed pretty fast towards Tofoa, which bore N. E. about ten leagues from us. While the ship was in sight she steered to the W. N. W., but I considered this only as a feint; for when we were sent away—"Huzza for Otaheite," was frequently heard among the mutineers.

'Christian, the captain of the gang, is of a respectable family in the north of England. This was the third voyage he had made with me; and, as I found it necessary to keep my ship's company at three watches, I gave him an order to take charge of the third, his abilities being thoroughly equal to the task; and by this means my master and gunner were not at watch and watch. Notwithstanding the roughness with which I was treated, the remembrance of past kindnesses produced some signs of remorse in Christian. When they were forcing me out of the ship, I asked him, if this treatment was a proper return for the many instances he had received of my friendship? he appeared disturbed at my question, and answered, with much emotion, "That,—captain Bligh,—that is the thing;——I am in hell—I am in hell."

'It will very naturally be asked, what could be the reason for such a revolt? in answer to which, I can only conjecture, that the mutineers had assured themselves of a more happy life among the Otaheiteans, than they could possibly have in England; which, joined to some female connections, have most probably been the principal cause of the whole transaction. The women at Otaheite are handsome, mild, and cheerful in their manners and conversation, possessed of great sensibility, and have sufficient delicacy to make them admired and beloved. The chiefs were so much attached to our people, that they rather encouraged their stay among them than otherwise, and even made them promises of large possessions. Under these, and many other attendant circumstances, equally desirable, it is now perhaps not so much to be wondered at, though scarcely possible to have been foreseen, that a set of sailors, most of them void of connections, should be led away; especially when, in addition to such powerful inducements, they imagined it in their power to fix themselves in the midst

of plenty, on the finest island in the world, where they need not labour, and where the allurements of dissipation are beyond any thing that can be conceived.

'The quantity of provisions I found in the boat was 150 pounds of bread, sixteen pieces of pork, each piece weighing two pounds, six quarts of rum, six bottles of wine, with twenty-eight gallons of water, and four empty barrecoes.

'Wednesday, April 29th. Happily the afternoon kept calm, until about four o'clock, when we were so far to windward, that, with a moderate easterly breeze which sprung up, we were able to sail. It was nevertheless dark when we got to Tofoa, where I expected to land; but the shore proved to be so steep and rocky, that I was obliged to give up all thoughts of it, and keep the boat under the lee of the island with two oars; for there was no anchorage. Having fixed on this mode of proceeding for the night, I served to every person half a pint of grog, and each took to his rest as well as our unhappy situation would allow.'

With some difficulty, Mr. Bligh and his party landed at Tofoa, which is the north-westernmost of the Friendly islands, and procured about twenty cocoa-nuts, and a little water. They remained three days, trading with the natives, and exchanging trifles for provisions; but their numbers increasing, they began to knock stones together, which is the signal of attack, and to importune Mr. Bligh to sit down. However, both he and his men were upon their guard. 'The sun was near setting,' says he, 'when I gave the word, on which every person, who was on shore with me, boldly took up his proportion of things, and carried them to the boat. The chiefs asked me if I would not stay with them all night. I said, "No, I never sleep out of my boat; but in the morning we will again trade with you, and I shall remain until the weather is moderate, that we may go as we have agreed, to see Poulaho, at Tongataboo." Maccaackavow, a chief, then got up, and said, "You will not sleep on shore? then Mattie," (which directly signifies we will kill you) and he left me. And he left me. The onset was now preparing; every one, as I have described before, kept knocking stones together, and Eefow, another

chief, quitted me. We had now all but two or three things in the boat, when I took Nageete, a chief, by the hand, and we walked down the beach, every one in a silent kind of horror.

'When I came to the boat, and was seeing the people embark, Nageete wanted me to stay to speak to Eefow; but I found he was encouraging them to the attack, and I determined, had it then begun, to have killed him for his treacherous behaviour. I ordered the carpenter not to quit me until the other people were in the boat. Nageete, finding I would not stay, loosed himself from my hold and went off, and we all got into the boat except one man, who, while I was getting on board, quitted it, and ran up the beach to cast the stern fast off, notwithstanding the master and others called to him to return, while they were hauling me out of the water. I was no sooner in the boat than the attack began by about 200 men; the unfortunate poor man who had run up the beach was knocked down, and the stones flew like a shower of shot. Many Indians got hold of the stern rope, and were near hauling us on shore, and would certainly have done it if I had not had a knife in my pocket, with which I cut the rope. We then hauled off to the grapnel, every one being more or less hurt. At this time I saw five of the natives about the poor man they had killed, and two of them were beating him about the head with stones in their hands.

'We had no time to reflect, before, to my surprise, they filled their canoes with stones, and twelve men came off after us to renew the attack, which they did so effectually as nearly to disable all of us. Our grapnel was foul, but providence here assisted us; the fluke broke, and we got to our oars, and pulled to sea. They, however, could paddle round us, so that we were obliged to sustain the attack without being able to return it, except with such stones as lodged in the boat, and in this I found we were very inferior to them. We could not close, because our boat was lumbered and heavy, and that they knew very well: I therefore adopted the expedient of throwing overboard some clothes, which they lost time in picking up; and, as it was now almost dark, they gave over

the attack, and returned towards the shore, leaving us to reflect on our unhappy situation.

'We were now sailing along the west side of the island Tofoa, and my mind was employed in considering what was best to be done, when I was solicited by all hands to take them towards home: and, when I told them no hopes of relief for us remained, but what I might find at New Holland, until I came to Timor, a distance of full 1200 leagues, where was a Dutch settlement, but in what part of the island I knew not, they all agreed to live on one ounce of bread, and a quarter of a pint of water, per day. Therefore, after examining our stock of provisions, and recommending this as a sacred promise for ever to their memory, we bore away across a sea, where the navigation is but little known, in a small boat, twenty-three feet long from stem to stern, deep laden with eighteen men; without a chart, and nothing but my own recollection and general knowledge of the situation of places, assisted by a book of latitudes and longitudes, to guide us. I was happy, however, to see every one better satisfied with our situation in this particular than myself.

'Our stock of provisions consisted of about 150 pounds of bread, twenty-eight gallons of water, twenty pounds of pork, three bottles of wine, and five quarts of rum. The difference between this and the quantity we had on leaving the ship, was owing to loss in the bustle and confusion of the attack. A few cocoa-nuts were in the boat, and some bread-fruit, but the latter was trampled to pieces.

'It was about eight o'clock at night when I bore away under a reefed lug fore-sail: and, having divided the people into watches, and got the boat in a little order, we returned God thanks for our miraculous preservation, and, fully confident of his gracious support, I found my mind more at ease than for some time past.

'At day-break the gale increased; the sun rose very fiery and red, a sure indication of a severe gale of wind. At eight it blew a violent storm, and the sea ran very high, so that between the seas the sail was becalmed, and when on the top of the sea it was too much to have set: but I was obliged to

carry to it, for we were now in very imminent danger and distress, the sea curling over the stern of the boat, which obliged us to bale with all our might. A situation more distressing has, perhaps, seldom been experienced.

'Our bread was in bags, and in danger of being spoiled by the wet: to be starved to death was inevitable, if this could not be prevented: I therefore began to examine what clothes there were in the boat, and what other things could be spared; and, having determined that only two suits should be kept for each person, the rest was thrown overboard, with some rope and spare sails, which lightened the boat considerably, and we had made room to bale the water out. Fortunately the carpenter had a good chest in the boat, into which I put the bread the first favourable moment. His tool chest also was cleared, and the tools stowed in the bottom of the boat, so that this became a second convenience. I now served a teaspoonful of rum to each person, (for we were very wet and cold) with a quarter of a bread-fruit, which was scarce eatable, for dinner; but our engagement was now strictly to be carried into execution, and I was fully determined to make what provisions I had last eight weeks, let the daily proportion be ever so small.'

The boat left the island of Tofoa, on the third of May. On the seventh, they were chased by two large canoes; and on the ninth, the weather having become more moderate, 'we cleaned out the boat,' says Mr. Bligh, 'and it employed us till sun-set to get every thing dry and in order. Hitherto I had issued the allowance by guess, but I now got a pair of scales, made with two cocoa-nut shells; and, having accidentally some pistol-balls in the boat, twenty-five of which weighed one pound, or sixteen ounces, I adopted one, as the proportion of weight that each person should receive of bread at the times I served it. I also amused all hands, with describing the situation of New Guinea and New Holland, and gave them every information in my power, that in case any accident happened to me, those who survived might have some idea of what they were about, and be able to find their way to Timor,

which at present they knew nothing of, more than the name, and some not that.

'About nine o'clock in the evening, the clouds began to gather, and we had a prodigious fall of rain, with severe thunder and lightning. By midnight we had caught about twenty gallons of water. Being miserably wet and cold, I served to each person a tea-spoonful of rum, to enable them to bear with their distressed situation. The weather continued extremely bad, and the wind increased; we spent a very miserable night, without sleep, but such as could be got in the midst of rain. The day brought us no relief but its light. The sea was constantly breaking over us, which kept two persons baling; and we had no choice how to steer, for we were obliged to keep before the waves to avoid filling the boat.'

On the 13th, continues our narrator, 'as I saw no prospect of getting our clothes dried, I recommended it to every one to strip, and wring them through the salt water, by which means they received a warmth, that, while wet with rain they, could not have, and we were less liable to suffer from colds or rheumatic complaints. On the 16th, the night was very dark, not a star to be seen to steer by, and the sea breaking constantly over us. I found it necessary to act as much as possible against the southerly winds, to prevent being driven too near New Guinea; for in general we were forced to keep so much before the sea, that if we had not, at intervals of moderate weather, steered a more southerly course, we should inevitably, from a continuance of the gales, have been thrown in sight of that coast: in which case there would most probably have been an end to our voyage.

'Monday, May the 18th. Fresh gales with rain, and a dark dismal night, wind S. E.; the sea constantly breaking over us, and nothing but the wind and sea to direct our steerage. I now fully determined to make New Holland, to the southward of Endeavour straits, sensible that it was necessary to preserve such a situation as would make a southerly wind a fair one; that I might range the reefs until an opening should be found into smooth water, and we the sooner be able to pick

up some refreshments. In the morning the rain abated, when we stripped, and wrung our clothes through the sea-water, as usual, which refreshed us wonderfully. Every person complained of violent pain in their bones: I was only surprised that no one was yet laid up. Served one 25th of a pound of bread, and a quarter of a pint of water, at supper, breakfast, and dinner, as customary.

'Tuesday, May the 19th. Fresh gales at E. N. E., with heavy rain, and dark gloomy weather, and no sight of the sun, We past this day miserably wet and cold, covered with rain and sea, from which we had no relief, but at intervals by pulling off our clothes and wringing them through the sea water. In the night we had very severe lightning, but otherwise it was so dark that we could not see each other. The morning produced many complaints on the severity of the weather, and I would gladly have issued my allowance of rum, if it had not appeared to me that we were to suffer much more, and that it was necessary to preserve the little I had, to give relief at a time we might be less able to bear such hardships.

'Wednesday, May the 20th. At dawn of day, some of my people seemed half dead: our appearances were horrible; and I could look no way, but I caught the eye of some one in distress. Extreme hunger was now too evident, but no one suffered from thirst, nor had we much inclination to drink, that desire, perhaps, being satisfied through the skin. The little sleep we got was in the midst of water, and we constantly awoke with severe cramps and pains in our bones. This morning I served about two tea-spoonfuls of rum to each person, and the allowance of bread and water, as usual. At noon the sun broke out and revived every one.

'Friday, May the 22d. Our situation this day was extremely calamitous. We were obliged to take the course of the sea, running right before it, and watching with the utmost care, as the least error in the helm would in a moment have been our destruction. The sea was continually breaking all over us; but, as we suffered not such cold as when wet with the rain, I only served the common allowance of bread and water.

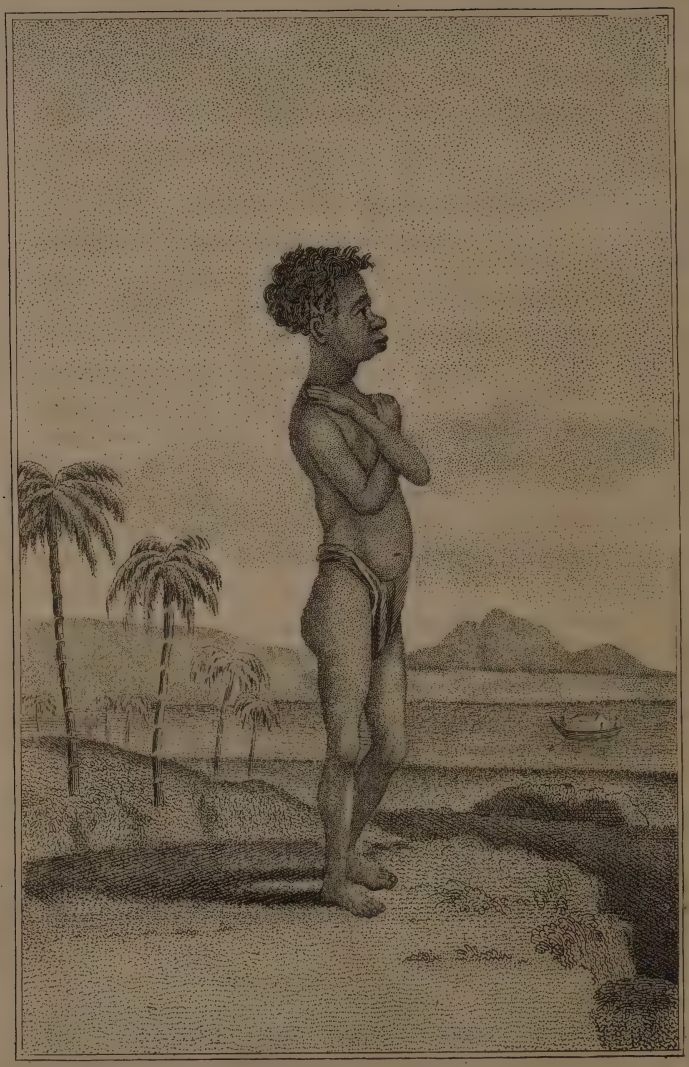
'Monday, May the 25th. This afternoon we had many birds about us, which are never seen far from land, such as boobies and noddies. About three o'clock the sea began to run fair, and we shipped but little water, I therefore determined to know the exact quantity of bread I had left; and on examining found, according to my present issues, sufficient for twenty-nine days allowance. In the course of this time I hoped to be at Timor; but, as that was very uncertain, and perhaps after all we might be obliged to go to Java, I determined to proportion my issues to six weeks. I therefore fixed, that every person should receive one twenty-fifth of a pound of bread for breakfast, and one twenty-fifth of a pound for dinner; so that by omitting the proportion for supper, I had forty-three days allowance. At noon some noddies came so near to us, that one of them was caught by hand. This bird is about the size of a small pigeon. I divided it, with its entrails, into eighteen portions, and by the method of, Who shall have this?* it was distributed with the allowance of bread and water for dinner, and eat up bones and all, with salt water for sauce.

'To make our bread a little savoury we frequently dipped it in salt water; but for my own part I generally broke mine into small pieces, and eat it in my allowance of water, out of a cocoa-nut shell, with a spoon, economically avoiding to take too large a piece at a time, so that I was as long at dinner as if it had been a much more plentiful meal.

'Wednesday, May the 27th. We passed much drift wood, and saw many birds; I therefore did not hesitate to pronounce that we were near New Holland,† and assured every one I would make the coast without delay, in the parallel we were

* One person turns his back on the object that is to be divided: another then points separately to the portions, at each of them asking aloud, 'Who shall have this?' to which the first answers by naming somebody. This impartial method of division gives every man an equal chance of the best share.

† Captain Cook explored the strait which divides Papua or New Guinea from New Holland; and the Pandora, frigate, which was sent out to seize the mutineer's belonging to captain Bligh's ship, was lost here. It is 1200 miles long, and 300 broad. The aspect of these people is frightful and hideous; the men are stout in



A BOY OF NEW GUINEA.

in, and range the reef till I found an opening, through which we might get into smooth water,and pick up some supplies.

'Thursday, May the 28th. At one in the morning the person at the helm heard the sound of breakers, and I no sooner lifted up my head, then I saw them close under our lee, not more then a quarter of a mile distant from us. I immediately hauled on a wind to the N. N. E., and in ten minutes time we could neither see nor hear them.

'In the morning, at day-light, I bore away again for the reefs, and saw them by nine o'clock. The sea broke furiously over every part, and I had no sooner got near to them, than the wind came at E., so that we could only lie along the line of breakers, within which we saw the water so smooth, that every person already anticipated the heart-felt satisfaction he would receive, as soon as we could get within them. But I now found we were embayed, for I could not lie clear with my sails, the wind having backed against us, and the sea set in so heavy towards the reef that our situation was become dangerous. We could but effect little with the oars, having scarce strength to pull them; and it was becoming every miuute more and more probable that we should be obliged to attempt pushing over the reef, in case we could not pull off. Even this I did not despair of effecting with success, when happily we discovered a break in the reef, about one mile from us, and at the same time an island of a moderate height within it, nearly in the same direction, bearing W. ½ N. I entered the

body, their skin of a shining black, rough, and often disfigured with marks like those occasioned by the leprosy; their eyes are very large, their noses flat, mouth from ear to ear, their lips amazingly thick, especially the upper lip; their hair woolly, either a shining black or fiery red: M. Sonnerat imagines the last to be owing to some powder. It is dressed in a vast bush, so as to resemble a mop; some are three feet in circumference, the least two and a half: in this they stick their comb, consisting of four or five diverging teeth, with which they occasionally dress their frizzled locks to give them a greater bulk; they sometimes ornament them with feathers of the birds of paradise; others add to their deformity by boring their noses, and passing through them rings, pieces of bone, or sticks; and many, by way of ornament, hang round their necks the tusks of boars. The heads of the women are of less size than those of the men, and in their left ears they wear small brass rings. The men go naked, excepting a small wrapper round their waists, made of the fibres of the cocoa. Annexed is a correct engraving of a Papuan boy.

passage with a strong stream running to the westward, and found it about a quarter of a mile broad, with every appearance of deep water.'

Friday, May the 29th. They entered a fine sandy bay, and soon found oysters on the rocks, and plenty of fresh water. 'Among the few things which had been thrown into the boat and saved, was a piece of brimstone and a tinder-box, so that I secured fire for the future. One of my people had been so provident as to bring away with him a copper pot: it was by being in possession of this article that I was enabled to make a proper use of the supply we found, for, with a mixture of bread and a little pork, I made a stew that might have been relished by people of more delicate appetites, of which each person received a full pint.

'The general complaints of disease among us, were a dizziness in the head, great weakness of the joints, and violent tenesmus, most of us having had no evacuation by stool since we left the ship. I had constantly a severe pain at my stomach; but none of our complaints were alarming; on the contrary, every one retained marks of strength, that, with a mind possessed of any fortitude, could bear more fatigue than I hoped we had to undergo in our voyage to Timor.'

The traces of animals and men were discovered on the island. Its latitude was found to be 12 deg. 39 min. S. Having got a quantity of oysters and nearly sixty gallons of water, Mr. Bligh sailed on the 31st of May. He again landed on the first of June, when Mr. Nelson grew very ill, with weakness, loss of sight, and giddiness; but, on receiving a glass of wine, he recovered a little. After touching at several islands, he reached the termination of the rocks and shoals of New Holland, and then again launched into the open ocean with great confidence.

After sailing for a few days in very rough weather, Mr. Bligh says, 'I now remarked that Mr. Ledward, the surgeon, and Lawrence Lebogue, an old hardy seaman, were giving way very fast. I could only assist them by a tea-spoonful or two of wine, which I had carefully saved, expecting such a melancholy necessity. Among most of the others I observed

more than a common inclination to sleep, which seemed to indicate that nature was almost exhausted. For my own part, a great share of spirits, with the hopes of being able to accomplish the voyage, seemed to be my principal support; but the boatswain very innocently told me, that he really thought I looked worse than any one in the boat. The simplicity with which he uttered such an opinion diverted me, and I had good humour enough to return him a better compliment.

'At three in the morning, with an excess of joy, we discovered Timor bearing from W. S. W. to W. N. W., and I hauled on a wind to the N. N. E. till day-light, when the land bore from S. W. by S. about two leagues to N. E. by N. seven leagues. It is not possible for me to describe the pleasure which the blessing of the sight of land diffused among us. It appeared scarce credible, that in an open boat, and so poorly provided, that we should have been able to reach the coast of Timor in forty-one days after leaving Tofoa, having in that time run, by our log, a distance of 3618 miles, and that, notwithstanding our extreme distress, no one should have perished in the voyage.'

They coasted the island for two days in search of the European settlement; captain Bligh opposing every proposition to land, lest the natives perceiving their helpless condition, should fall upon them. At last they procured a native pilot to carry them to Coupang. 'At night,' says captain Bligh, 'I came to a grapnel, and for the first time I issued double allowance of bread and a little wine to each person. At one o'clock in the morning, after the most happy and sweet sleep that ever men had, we weighed, and continued to keep the east shore on board, in very smooth water; when at last I found we were again open to the sea, the whole of the land to the westward, that we had passed, being an island, which the pilot called Pulo Samow. The northern entrance of this channel is about a mile and a half or two miles wide, and I had no ground at ten fathoms.

'Hearing the report of two cannon that were fired, gave new life to every one; and soon after we discovered two

square-rigged vessels and a cutter at anchor to the eastward. I endeavoured to work to windward, but we were obliged to take to our oars again, having lost ground on each tack. We kept close to the shore, and continued rowing till four o'clock, when I brought to a grapnel, and gave another allowance of bread and wine to all hands. As soon as we had rested a little, we weighed again, and rowed till near day-light, when I came to a grapnel, off a small fort and town, which the pilot told me was Coupang.

'Among the things which the boatswain had thrown into the boat before we left the ship, was a bundle of signal flags that had been made for the boats to show the depth of water in sounding; with these I had, in the course of the passage, made a small jack, which I now hoisted in the main shrouds, for I did not choose to land without leave.

'Soon after day-break a soldier hailed me to land, which I instantly did, among a crowd of Indians, and was agreeably surprised to meet with an English sailor, who belonged to one of the vessels in the road. His captain, he told me, was the second person in the town; I therefore desired to be conducted to him, as I was informed the governor was ill, and could not then be spoken with.

'Captain Spikerman received me with great humanity. I informed him of our miserable situation; and requested that care might be taken of those who were with me, without delay. On which he gave directions for their immediate reception at his own house, and went himself to the governor, to know at what time I could be permitted to see him; which was fixed to be at eleven o clock.

'I now desired every one to come on shore, which was as much as some of them could do, being scarce able to walk: they, however, got at last to the house, and found tea with bread and butter provided for their breakfast.

'The abilities of a painter, perhaps, could never have been displayed to more advantage than in the delineation of the two groups of figures, which at this time presented themselves. An indifferent spectator would have been at a loss which most to admire; the eyes of famine sparkling at immediate relief,

or the horror of their preservers at the sight of so many spectres, whose ghastly countenances, if the cause had been unknown, would rather have excited terror than pity. Our bodies were nothing but skin and bones, our limbs were full of sores, and we were clothed in rags; in this condition, with the tears of joy and gratitude flowing down our cheeks, the people of Timor beheld us with a mixture of horror, surprise, and pity.'

The governor, Mr. William Adrian Van Este, though extremely ill, directed that every assistance should be given to the distressed strangers; who were all lodged in one house. The surgeon also dressed their sores, and the cleansing of their persons was not neglected. Thus, with only five days' provision, and exposed to sixteen days' heavy rain; did this handful of British seamen sail above 3600 miles, in an open boat, without the loss of one single individual by disease.

After resting above two weeks, evident signs of returning health appeared, and Mr. Bligh purchased a small schooner, with which he sailed for Batavia on the 20th of August, and which he reached on the 26th of September. On the 16th of the following month, he embarked in the Vlydt packet, and on the 14th of March, 1790, was landed at Portsmouth.

A

VOYAGE

TOWARDS

THE NORTH POLE,

BY

CAPTAIN PHIPPS,

IN 1773.

GOVERNMENT having determined to send an expedition towards the North Pole, to examine whether any passage existed into the South Seas, the Racehorse bomb with a complement of ninety men, under captain Phipps, and the Carcass, with eighty men, under captain Lutwidge, were equipped for this service. They sailed on the 2d of June, and keeping as nearly as possible on a meridional line, reached latitude 78 on the 29th. 'Here,' says captain Phipps, 'the coast appeared to be neither habitable nor accessible; it was formed by high, barren, black rocks, without the least marks of vegetation; in many places bare and pointed, in other parts covered with snow, appearing even above the clouds: the vallies between the high cliffs were filled with snow or ice. This prospect would have suggested the idea of perpetual winter, had not the mildness of the weather, the smooth water, bright sunshine, and constant daylight, given a cheerfulness and novelty to the whole of this striking and romantic scene.'

On the 6th of July, they were nearly in latitude 80 deg. N., and 9 deg. 43 min. E., and were impeded by great quantities of ice. Here most of the old discoverers had been stopped. The service now became very fatiguing. But on the

13th, they anchored in one of the harbours formed by a knot of islands, called the Fair haven, in latitude 79 deg. 50 min. N., and longitude 10 deg. 2 min. E. On the 18th they weighed, and skirted the ice, seeking an opening, but in latitude 80 deg. 48 min. N., they found the main body of the ice quite solid. On the 29th, they approached a low island opposite to Waygat's straits. 'Having little wind,' says captain Phipps, and the weather very clear, two of the officers went with a boat in pursuit of some sea-horses, and afterwards to the low island. At midnight we found by observation the latitude 80 deg. 27 min. 3 sec., and the dip 82 deg. 2 min. ½. At four in the morning I found, by Bouguers log, that the current set two fathom to the eastward. At six in the morning the officers returned from the island; in their way back they had fired at, and wounded a sea-horse, which dived immediately, and brought up with it immediately a number of others. They all joined in an attack upon the boat, wrested an oar from one of the men, and were with difficulty prevented from staving or oversetting her; but a boat from the Carcass joining ours, they dispersed.

'30th. Little winds, and calm all day; we got something to the northward and eastward. At noon we were by observation in latitude 80 deg. 31 min. At three in the afternoon we were in longitude 18 deg. 48 min. E., being amongst the islands, and in the ice, with no appearance of an opening for the ship. Between eleven and twelve at night I sent the master, Mr. Crane, in the four-oared boat, amongst the ice, to try whether he could get the boat through, and find any opening for the ship which might give us a prospect of getting farther; with directions if he could reach the shore to go up one of the mountains, in order to discover the state of the ice to the eastward and northward. At five in the morning, the ice being all around us, we got out our ice-anchors, and moored along-side a field. The master returned between seven and eight, and with him captain Lutwidge, who had joined him on shore. They had ascended an high mountain, from whence they commanded a prospect extending to the east and north-east ten or twelve leagues, over one continued

plain of smooth unbroken ice, bounded only by the horizon: they also saw land stretching to the S. E., laid down in the Dutch charts as islands. The main body of ice, which we had traced from west to east, they now perceived to join to these islands, and from them to what is called the North-east land. In returning, the ice having closed much since they went, they were frequently forced to haul the boat over it to other openings. The weather exceedingly fine and mild, and unusually clear. The scene was beautiful and picturesque; the two ships becalmed in a large bay, with three apparent openings between the islands which formed it, but every where surrounded with ice as far as we could see, with some streams of water? not a breath of air; the water perfectly smooth; the ice covered with snow, low, and even, except a few broken pieces near the edges: the pools of water in the middle of the pieces were frozen over with the young ice.

'At nine in the morning, having a light breeze to the eastward, we cast off, and endeavoured to force through the ice. At noon the ice was so close, that being unable to proceed, we moored again to a field. In the afternoon we filled our cask with fresh water from the ice, which we found very pure and soft. The Carcass moved, and made fast to the same field with us. The ice measured eight yards ten inches in thickness at one end, and seven yards eleven inches at the other. At four in the afternoon the variation was 12 deg. 24 min. W.: at the same time the longitude 19 deg. 0 min. 15 sec. E.; by which we found that we had hardly moved to the eastward since the day before. Calm most part of the day; the weather very fine; the ice closed fast, and was all round the ships; no opening to be seen any where, except an hole of about a mile and a half, where the ships lay fast to the ice with ice-anchors. We completed the water. The ship's company were playing on the ice all day. The pilots being much farther than they had ever been, and the season advancing, seemed alarmed at being beset.

'August 1st. The ice pressed in fast; there was not now the smallest opening; the two ships were within less than two lengths of each other, separated by ice, and neither having

room to turn. The ice, which had been all flat the day before, and almost level with the water's edge, was now in many places forced higher than the main-yard, by the pieces squeezing together. Our latitude this day at noon, by the double altitude, was 80 deg. 37 min.

'2d. Thick foggy wet weather, blowing fresh to the westward; the ice immediately about the ships rather looser than the day before, but yet hourly setting in so fast upon us, that there seemed to be no probability of getting the ships out again, without a strong east, or north-east wind. There was not the smallest appearance of open water, except a little towards the west point of the North-east land. The seven islands and North-east land, with the frozen sea, formed almost a bason, leaving but about four points opening for the ice to drift out, in case of a change of wind.

'3d. The weather very fine, clear, and calm; we perceived that the ships had been driven far to the eastward; the ice was much closer than before, and the passage by which we had come in from the westward closed up, no open water being in sight, either in that or any other quarter. The pilots having expressed a wish to get if possible farther out, the ship's companies were set to work at five in the morning to cut a passage through the ice, and warp through the small openings to the westward. We found the ice very deep, having sawed sometimes through pieces twelve feet thick. This labour was continued the whole day but without any success; our utmost efforts not having moved the ships above 300 yards to the westward through the ice, at the same time that they had been driven (together with the ice itself, to which they were fast) far to the N. E. and eastward, by the current; which had also forced the loose ice from the westward, between the islands, where it became packed, and as firm as the main body.

'5th. The probability of getting the ships out appearing every hour less, and the season being already far advanced, some speedy resolution became necessary as to the steps to be taken for the preservation of the people. As the situation of

the ships prevented us from seeing the state of the ice to the westward, by which our future proceedings must in a great measure be determined, I sent Mr. Walden, one of the midshipmen, with two pilots, to an island about twelve miles off, to see where the open water lay.

'6th. Mr. Walden and the pilots, who were sent the day before to examine the state of the ice from the island, returned this morning with an account, that the ice, though close all about us, was open to the westward, round the point by which we came in. They also told me, that when upon the island they had the wind very fresh to the eastward, though where the ships lay it had been almost calm all day. This circumstance considerably lessened the hopes we had hitherto entertained of the immediate effect of an easterly wind in clearing the bay. We had but one alternative; either patiently to wait the event of the weather upon the ships, in hopes of getting them out, or to betake ourselves to the boats. The ships had driven into shoal water, having but fourteen fathom. Should they, or the ice to which they were fast, take the ground, they must be inevitably lost, and probably overset. The hopes of getting the ships out was not hastily to be relinquished, nor obstinately adhered to, till all other means of retreat were cut off. Having no harbour to lodge them in, it would be impossible to winter them here, with any probability of their being again serviceable; our provisions would be very short for such an undertaking, were it otherwise feasible; and supposing, what appeared impossible, that we could get to the nearest rocks, and make some conveniences for wintering, being now in an unfrequented part, where ships never even attempt to come, we should have the same difficulties to encounter the next year, without the same resources; the remains of the ship's company, in all probability, not in health; no provisions; and the sea not so open, this year having certainly been uncommonly clear. Indeed it could not have been expected that more than a very small part should survive the hardships of such a winter with every advantage; much less in our present situation. On the other hand, the under-

taking to move so large a body for so considerable a distance by boats, was not without very serious difficulties. Should we remain much longer here, the bad weather must be expected to set in. The stay of the Dutchmen to the northward is very doubtful: if the northern harbours keep clear, they stay till the beginning of September; but when the loose ice sets in, they quit them immediately. I thought it proper to send for the officers of both ships, and informed them of my intention of preparing the boats for going away. I immediately hoisted out the boats, and took every precaution in my power to make them secure and comfortable: the fitting would necessarily take up some days. The water shoaling, and the ships driving fast towards the rocks to the N. E., I ordered canvass bread-bags to be made, in case it should be necessary very suddenly to betake ourselves to the boats: I also sent a man with a lead and line to the northward, and another from the Carcass to the eastward, to sound wherever they found cracks in the ice, that we might have notice before either the ships, or the ice to which they were fast, took the ground; as in that case, they must instantly have been crushed or overset. The weather bad; most part of the day foggy, and rather cold.

7th. In the morning I set out with the launch over the ice; she hauled much easier than I could have expected; we got her about two miles. I then returned with the people for their dinner. Finding the ice rather more open near the ships, I was encouraged to attempt moving them. The wind being easterly, though but little of it, we set the sails, and got the ships about a mile to the westward. They moved indeed, but very slowly, and were not now by a great deal so far to the westward as where they were beset. However, I kept all the sail upon them, to force through whenever the ice slacked the least. The people behaved very well in hauling the boat; they seemed reconciled to the idea of quitting the ships, and to have the fullest confidence in their officers. The boats could not with the greatest diligence be got to the water side before the 14th; if the situation of the ships did not alter by that time, I should not be justified in staying longer by them. In

the mean time I resolved to carry on both attempts together, moving the boats constantly, but without omitting any opportunity of getting the ships through.

'8th. At half past four, sent two pilots with three men to see the state of the ice to the westward, that I might judge of the probability of getting the ships out. At nine they returned, and reported the ice to be very heavy and close, consisting chiefly of large fields. Between nine and ten this morning, I set out with the people, and got the launch above three miles. The weather being foggy, and the people having worked hard, I thought it best to return on board between six and seven. The ships had in the mean time moved something through the ice, and the ice itself had drifted still more to the westward. At night there was but little wind, and a thick fog, so that I could not judge precisely of the advantage we had gained; but I still feared that, however flattering, it was not such as to justify my giving up the idea of moving the boats, the season advancing so fast, the preservation of the ships being so uncertain, and the situation of the people so critical.

'9th. A thick fog in the morning: we moved the ship a little through some very small openings. In the afternoon, upon its clearing up, we were agreeably surprised to find the ships had driven much more than we could have expected to the westward. We worked hard all day, and got them something more to the westward through the ice; but nothing in comparison to what the ice itself had drifted. We got past the launches; I sent a number of men for them, and got them on board. Between three and four in the morning the wind was westerly, and it snowed fast. The people having been much fatigued, we were obliged to desist from working for a few hours. The progress which the ships had made through the ice was, however, a very favourable event: the drift of the ice was an advantage that might be as suddenly lost, as it had been as unexpectedly gained, by a change in the current: we had experienced the inefficacy of an easterly wind when far in the bay, and under the high land; but having now got through so much of the ice, we began again

to conceive hopes that a brisk gale from that quarter would soon effectually clear us.

'10th. The wind springing up from the N. N. E. in the morning, we set all the sail we could upon the ship, and forced her through a great deal of very heavy ice: she struck often very hard, and with one stroke broke the shank of the best bower anchor. About noon we had got her through all the ice, and out to sea. I stood to the N. W. to make the ice, and found the main body just where we left it. At three in the morning, with a good breeze easterly, we were standing to the westward, between the land and the ice, both in sight; the weather hazy.'

Next day, captain Phipps came to anchor in the bay of Smeerenberg, to refresh his people. Here were several remarkable icebergs. 'These,' says he, 'are large bodies of ice filling the vallies between the high mountains; the face towards the sea is nearly perpendicular, and of a very lively light green colour. That near the anchorage, was about 300 feet high, with a cascade of water issuing out of it. The black mountains, white snow, and beautiful colour of the ice, make a very romantic and uncommon picture. Large pieces frequently break off from the icebergs, and fall with great noise into the water: we observed one piece which had floated out into the bay, and grounded in twenty-four fathom; it was fifty feet high above the surface of the water, and of the same beautiful colour as the iceberg.'

As the season was now far advanced, and fogs and gales of wind so much to be expected, the ships, on the 22d, sailed southward; and reached Orfordness on the 24th of September.

The very interesting account which is here given by lord Mulgrave, of the ice islands which float within the polar circles, have induced many to deny the practicability of approaching the pole. Sir Hugh Willoughby perished amongst the huge masses of ice, with all his crew, in 1553, and many other navigators have been nearly destroyed by tremendous floating mountains of ice.

The forms assumed by the ice in this chilling climate are extremely pleasing to the most incurious eye. The surface of

that which is congealed from the sea-water is flat and even, hard, opaque, resembling white sugar, and incapable of being slid on. The greater pieces or fields are many leagues in length: the lesser are called the meadows of the seals, on which, at times, those animals frolic by hundreds. The motion of the lesser pieces is as rapid as the currents: the greater, which are sometimes 200 leagues long, and sixty or eighty broad, move majestically. The approximation of two great fields produces a most singular phenomenon: they force smaller pieces out of the water, and add them to their own surface, till at length the whole forms an aggregate of tremendous height. They float in the sea like so many rugged mountains, and are sometimes 5 or 600 yards thick, the far greater part of which is concealed beneath the water. Those which remain in this frozen climate receive continual growth; others are gradually wafted into southern latitudes, and melt by degrees by the heat of the sun till they waste away, and disappear in the boundless element.

The collision of the *great* fields of ice in high latitudes, is often attended with a noise that for a time takes away the sense of hearing any thing else; and that of the *lesser* with a grinding of unspeakable horror. The water which dashes against the mountainous ice freezes into an infinite variety of forms, and gives the voyager ideal towns, streets, churches, steeples, and every shape which imagination can paint.

West Greenland, which is said to extend as far as 76 deg. N. latitude, was discovered by a Norwegian, named Eric, who sailed from Iceland in quest of adventures so early as the year 982. The country from cape Farewell, in a north-westerly direction, was colonized; but about the year 1376, the invasion of the Esquimaux, and afterwards that dreadful pestilence termed the *Black Death*, nearly completed the destruction of the settlers, which was finally effected in about a century afterwards.

However, the settlements which during the last 100 years, the Danes have been forming at various points on the west side of Greenland, are more numerous and thriving than those which existed at any former period. They consist of twenty-

one colonies, stretching over an extent of 800 miles. The first establishment is only a single family, occupying Bear island, a little to the east of cape Farewell. Ten other hamlets, composed chiefly of Moravians, are planted at different points, from the latitude of 60 deg. to that of 68 deg. Three settlements are distributed round Disco bay, about the latitude of 69 deg.; and seven more have been extended thence as far as the latitude of 73 deg. But the remoter settlers are a depraved and degenerate race, consisting of Danish convicts and their progeny by the Esquimaux women, or aboriginal Greenlanders. The whole population of those settlements, including the natives themselves, does not exceed 7000; and the annual amount of their trade with Copenhagen, both in exports and imports, is only about 30,000*l.* sterling.

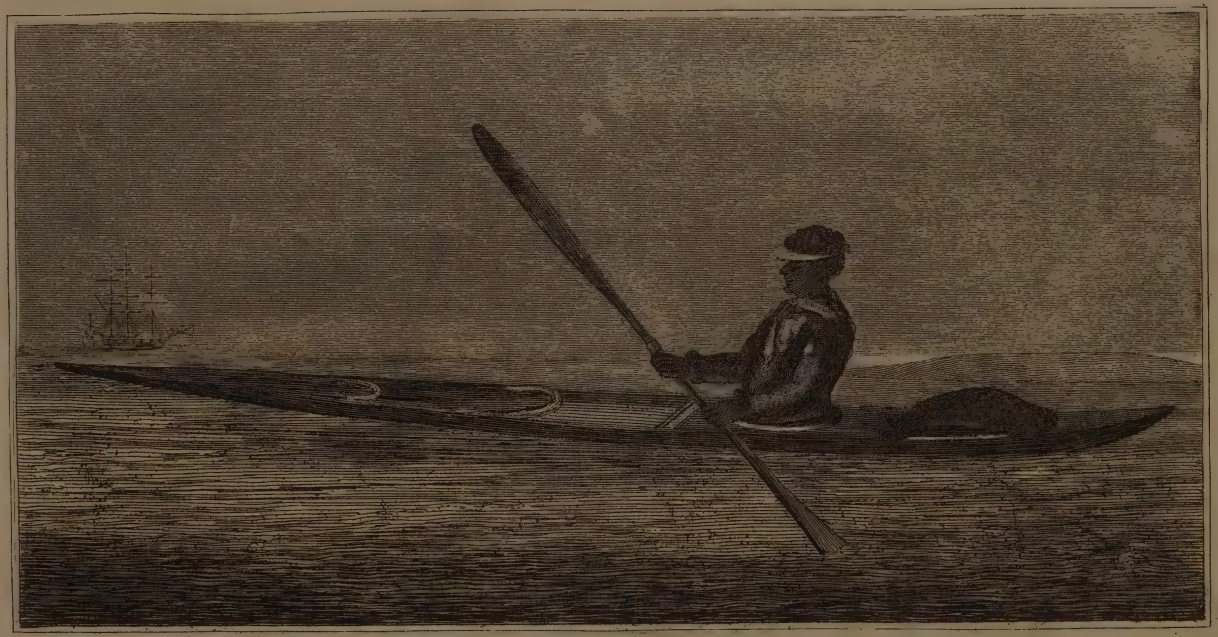
The Greenlanders' dress consists principally of the skins of rein-deer, seals, and birds. Their outer garment reaches about half way down the thigh, and is sewed fast on all sides like a waggoner's frock, but not so long or so loose; at the top of this is fastened a cap or hood, which they can draw over their heads as a defence against the wet and cold. These garments are sewed together with the sinews of rein-deer or whales, split so thin and small, that they are adapted to the finest steel needles, and with these they execute their work with surprising neatness and ingenuity.

The skins of fowls with the feathers inwards, are made into shirts, these, however, are sometimes manufactured of the skins of the rein-deer. Over the shirt is another garment, of very fine-haired rein-deer skins, which are now so scarce in Greenland, that none but the wealthy can appear in them. Seal-skins are substituted in their place, the rough side is turned outwards, and the borders and seams are ornamented with some narrow stripes of red leather and white dog-skin. Seal skins are also manufactured by different methods into drawers, stockings, and shoes; but among the richer sort, woollen stockings, trowsers, and caps, are worn in their stead. When they travel by sea, a great coat, made of a black smooth seal's hide, rendered water-proof, covers the rest of their dress.

Mothers and nurses put on a garment wide enough in the back to hold the child, which is placed in it quite naked; it is accommodated with no other swaddling clothes or cradle; and it is kept from falling through, by means of a girdle fastened about the mother's waist. Their common dress abounds with filth and vermin, but they keep their holiday garments exceedingly neat.

The Greenland men wear their hair cut short, commonly hanging down from the crown of the head on every side, and squared off at their foreheads; some of them cut it off close, that it may be no impediment to their work; but to a woman this would be a great reproach, and consequently it is never done by females but in cases of the deepest mourning, or when they resolve never to marry. They usually tie their hair in a double ringlet, in such a manner that a long broad roll or tuft, and another smaller one over it, decorate the crown of their head, which they bind with some gay bandage, adorned with glass beads. The same kind of gems they wear in their ears, round their necks and arms, and also at the borders of their clothes and shoes; but if they aim at being very beautiful, they draw a thread blackened with soot between the skins of their cheeks, chin, hands, and feet. This painful operation is frequently performed by the mother on her daughters in their childhood, lest they might otherwise never get husbands. The same custom is likewise much practised by several Indians in North America; and hence the Greenlanders and Esquimaux Indians are supposed to have derived their origin from one common stock.

The methods and implements made use of by the Greenlanders, for procuring their maintenance, are extremely simple, but in their hands, well adapted to the purpose. In former times they made use of bows, two yards in length, for *land-game*, but these have long since given way to fowling-pieces. For *sea-game* five sorts of instruments are principally used. 1. The harpoon-dart with a bladder. 2. The great lance, which is about two yards long. 3. The little lance: these three weapons are used in the capture of seals. 4. The missile dart, a foot and a half in length; and 5. The hunting



AN ESQUIMAUX

dart, two yards long, chiefly used for the purpose of catching seals.

The Greenlanders have two kinds of boats, conveniently adapted for procuring their sustenance. The *kaiak*, or little man's boat, is six yards long, sharp at head and stern, like a weaver's shuttle, scarcely eighteen inches broad, and about a foot deep: the construction of this boat is very similar to that of the *umiak*, only that the top is covered with skins. In the middle of the upper covering there is a round hole, with a rim of wood or bone, into which the Greenlander slips with his feet; the rim reaching just above his hips, he tucks the under part of his great coat so tight round the rim, that the water cannot in any place penetrate. On the side of the *kaiak* lies his harpoon, and in the front his line, rolled up on a little round raised seat made for it, and behind him is the seal-skin bladder. He holds his oar in the middle, with both hands, and strikes the water on each side very quick, and as regularly as if he was beating time. Thus equipped, he is prepared for fishing or travelling. The Esquimaux use a boat exactly similar.

In these *kaiaks* the Greenlanders row so swiftly, that if a letter requires expedition, they will make a voyage sixty or seventy miles in a day: they fear no storm, and pass on regardless of the most boisterous billows, because they can dart over them with the greatest ease, and if a whole wave should overwhelm them, yet they are quickly seen swimming again upon the surface. If they are even overset, they are able, while they lie with their heads downwards under water, by giving themselves a certain swing with their oars, to mount again into their proper position. But if they have the misfortune to lose their oar, they are almost sure of being lost, in which case, they contrive to bind themselves to their *kaiak*, in order that their body may be found and buried.

Polygamy, though by no means common among the Greenlanders, is not altogether unknown; and so far from its being considered a disgraceful thing for a man to have a plurality of wives, he is respected for his industry, by which he is enabled to maintain them; but to be without children, is deemed

a matter of great reproach; and therefore, in such cases, the matrimonial contract is easily broken, for the man has only to leave the house in anger, and not to return for several days; the wife, understanding his meaning, packs up her clothes, and removes to her own friends.

If a man's only wife dies, he in a few days after the event adorns himself, his house, and children, in the best manner possible; but to render himself agreeable to another woman, his *kaiak* and darts must, above every thing, be in the finest order. He does not, however, marry a second time till the interval of a full year, unless he has small children, and nobody to nurse them. Where there is more than one wife, and the chief or proper one dies, the junior wife takes her place, and pays even more attention and regard to the motherless children than she does to her own.

The girls do nothing till they are fourteen years old but sing and dance, unless fetch water, or perhaps wait on a child: but afterwards they must sew, cook, dress skins, and construct houses. Building, indeed, is almost the sole work of women, the men doing only the carpenter's work, and contentedly looking on while the women are carrying weights ready to crush them to the ground.

The Greenlanders are remarkably quiet and inoffensive. Like most nations living in a state of simplicity and poverty, they are fond of rhyming, and when one man offends another, they often appoint a time for fighting in verse. Each of the combatants appear at the time and place agreed upon, with his friends; and the contest begins by one of the parties reciting a few doggrel verses, satirizing his antagonist, the other replies in a similar manner; and whoever acquits himself with most humour and facility is declared conqueror. How happy would it be for mankind, if all their quarrels were decided in such a harmless, amusing, and intellectual manner.

T. Clerk Sculp.t

GREENLANDERS SINGING COMBAT.

CAPTAIN WILSON'S

MISSIONARY VOYAGE

TO THE

SOUTHERN PACIFIC OCEAN,

PERFORMED

IN THE YEARS 1796, 1797, and 1798.

THE island of Otaheite, has from the narratives of different navigators, become highly celebrated. The Spaniards claim the discovery of this delightful island; but this has been disputed. However, captain Wallis, in his majesty's ship Dolphin, discovered it in June, 1767, and took formal possession of the island in the name of his own sovereign. The Dolphin having struck upon a coral rock, was surrounded by many hundred canoes, and showers of large stones were poured in every direction. But the destructive effects of the great guns impressed the islanders with such terror, that they never afterwards repeated their hostile attacks.

At this time, Obera, the queen, exercised great authority, though her licentious conduct has been often related. Great inconveniences were also experienced from the sensuality of the other female islanders. Next year, this place was visited by M. de Bougainville, in the Boudeuse frigate, when sensuality seems to have been practised with still greater indecency than before, and several murders were privately committed by the French sailors. The celebrated captain Cook next visited

this island, in 1769, and was every where most hospitably treated; but the same lewdness was perpetrated as on former occasions. This navigator thrice afterwards visited the island, and maintained the most amicable intercourse with the natives; though the English punished some petty thefts committed by them, with unprecedented severity.

Eleven years now passed without any intercourse between Europe and Otaheite, when a ship called the Lady Penrhyn, which had been employed in transporting convicts to New South Wales, anchored in the bay of Mattavae. The utmost abundance of animal and vegetable food was supplied in exchange for European articles; and besides the original productions of the island, pumpkins and capsicums, cats and goats, were offered for sale. It was observed, that the women of the higher class were more cautious than formerly of promiscuous intercourse, probably in consequence of what they had suffered from disease.

An event now approached which issued in an important change of the condition of Otaheite. The information which had been received by the former voyagers of the great utility of the bread-fruit, induced the merchants and planters of the British West Indian islands to request that means might be used to transplant it thither. For this benevolent purpose a ship was commissioned by his majesty, which was named the Bounty; and lieutenant Bligh, who had sailed as master with captain Cook, was appointed to conduct her to Otaheite, where the plants might be most easily and abundantly procured. He arrived at Mattavae, on the 26th of October, 1788, hardly more than three months after lieutenant Watt's departure.

Pomarre was now the principal king or chief in the island. He offered no objections to providing a large quantity of the young bread-fruit plants; and in return, he was gratified with two muskets, a pair of pistols, and a considerable stock of ammunition. But though he had not sufficient fortitude to use these articles himself, yet his wife, Iddea, whose personal strength and courage were unusually great, had learned to use a musket with some dexterity.

When twenty-five of the crew of the Bounty, as before related, mutinied, and turned adrift captain Bligh, in the ship's launch, they returned to Otaheite. Sixteen of the mutineers finally insisted upon settling in this island; but their leader, Christian, with thirty-five of the islanders, sailed in search of an uninhabited island, out of the usual track of European ships, in which object they succeeded, as they have since been discovered by an American vessel.

In 1791, the Pandora frigate, commanded by captain Edwards, arrived at Otaheite, and having apprehended the mutineers, sailed on her return to England. The native women who were attached to these unfortunate men, shewed the deepest grief at beholding them confined in chains. A midshipman, who had been active in the mutiny, had lived with the daughter of a person of property at Mattavae, and she had borne a child to him. His imprisonment and removal afflicted her to such a degree as to bring on a decline that terminated in her death. Her infant was left to the care of a sister, who cherished it with the utmost tenderness. Three daughters and a son were left by others of the mutineers.

At the close of the same year captain Vancouver, in a ship named the Discovery, and lieutenant Broughton in the Chatham brig, arrived at Otaheite. The vessels having been separated on their passage, the Chatham first reached the island, which was appointed for their rendezvous. She anchored at Mattavae on the 27th of December, 1791, and the Discovery joined her three days later. The natives behaved with their usual hospitality toward the English; but they could not dissuade Pomarre from the most immoderate use of spirituous liquors, till his sufferings convinced him of the necessity of temperance. Some thefts, which was evidently encouraged by the chiefs, interrupted the friendship that had prevailed; and prevented the repetition of a display of fireworks, with which they had been greatly delighted. The vessels sailed on the 24th of January, 1792.

Shortly afterward a private ship, named the Matilda, captain Weatherhead, touched at Otaheite for refreshments, having sailed from Port Jackson upon the southern whale fishery.

After a fortnight's stay they departed, and on the 25th of February, the ship was wrecked upon an extensive reef. The captain and crew escaped in their boats to Otaheite; but upon landing again at that island, the inhabitants plundered them of the articles they had saved from the wreck. This event became an occasion of contention among the islanders, and a part of the country was in consequence laid waste by Pomarre. The ship's company were, in other respects, well treated. A small vessel, called the Prince William Henry, of Newcastle, touching at Otaheite on the 26th of March, stayed only three days. Some of the Matilda's people embarked in her, and proceeded to the north-west coast of America.

Captain Bligh having been again sent out, to accomplish the purposes of his former voyage which had been frustrated by the mutiny, arrived at Otaheite on the 7th of April, 1792, in a ship named the Providence, attended by a small vessel called the Assistance, commanded by lieutenant Portlock.

The Dædalus store-ship, in 1793, stayed a fortnight upon the island, after which there is no information respecting it, until the arrival of the Duff.

The encouraging account which the preceding navigators gave of the singular mildness and hospitality of the natives of Otaheite, induced several zealous Christian to select this island as the most proper station for missionaries, who might from thence extend their labours over the neighbouring islands. As those islands had suffered severely by the introduction of the venereal disease from Europe; and were now likely to be abandoned, as affording nothing to excite the cupidity of ambition, or answer the speculations of the interested, their unhappy situation excited general commiseration; and favoured the pious project of sending out a missionary colony.

The mission consisted of thirty men, six women, and three children. They embarked in the Thames, on the 10th of August, 1796, on board the Duff, captain Wilson, with a select crew of twenty-one men and a boy. The missionary flag was at the same time hoisted at the mizen top-gallant-mast head: three doves argent, on a purple field, bearing

olive branches in their bills. On the 24th of September, they left Portsmouth, loaded with presents; and on the 14th of October, touched at one of the cape Verd islands. On the 13th of the following month, the Duff came to anchor in the harbour of Rio de Janeiro. After receiving refreshments, they sailed, and passing the cape of Good Hope, and the south cape of New Holland, they came near to Otaheite on Saturday evening, March 4th. The first transactions here is thus related.

'The morning was pleasant, and with a gentle breeze we had by seven o'clock got abreast of the district of Atahooroo, whence we saw several canoes putting off and paddling towards us with great speed; at the same time it fell calm, which being in their favour, we soon counted seventy-four canoes around us, many of them double ones, containing about twenty persons each. Being so numerous, we endeavoured to keep them from crowding on board; but in spite of all our efforts to prevent, there was soon not less than one hundred of them dancing and capering like frantic persons about our decks, crying, "Tayo! tayo!" and a few broken sentences of English were often repeated. They had no weapons of any kind among them; however, to keep them in awe, some of the great guns were ordered to be hoisted out of the hold, whilst they, as free from the apprehension as the intention of mischief, cheerfully assisted to put them on their carriages. When the first ceremonies were over, we began to view our new friends with an eye of inquiry: their wild disorderly behaviour, strong smell of the cocoa-nut oil, together with the tricks of the arreoies, lessened the favourable opinion we had formed of them; neither could we see ought of that elegance and beauty in their women for which they have been so greatly celebrated. This at first seemed to depreciate them in the estimation of our brethren; but the cheerfulness, good-nature, and generosity of these kind people soon removed the momentary prejudices. One very old man, Manne Manne, who called himself a priest of the Eatoo, was very importunate to be tayo with the captain; others, pretending to be chiefs, singled out such as had the appearance of officers for their

tayos;* but as they neither exercised authority over the unruly, nor bore the smallest mark of distinction, we thought proper to decline their proposals till we knew them and the nature of the engagement better. At this they seemed astonished, but still more when they saw our indifference about the hogs, fowls, and fruit, which they had brought in abundance. We endeavoured to make them understand, but I think in vain, that this was the day of the Eatooa, and in that we durst not trade: but their women repulsed, occasioned greater wonder. They continued to go about the decks till the transports of their joy gradually subsided, when many of them left us of their own accord, and others were driven away by the old man, and one named Mauroa, who now exercised a little authority. Those who remained were chiefly arreoies from Ulietea, in number about forty; and being brought to order, the brethren proposed having divine service upon the quarter-deck. Mr. Cover officiated; he perhaps was the first that ever mentioned with reverence the Saviour's name to these poor heathens. Such hymns were selected as had the most harmonious tunes; first, "O'er the gloomy hills of darkness;" then, "Blow ye the trumpet, blow;" and at the conclusion, "Praise God from whom all blessings flow." The text was from the first epistle general of John, chap. iii. ver. 23. "God is love." The whole service lasted about an hour and a quarter. During sermon and prayer the natives were quiet and thoughtful; but when the singing struck up, they seemed charmed and filled with amazement; sometimes they would talk and laugh, but a nod of the head brought them to order, Upon the whole their unweariedness and quietness were astonishing; and, indeed, all who heard observed a peculiar solemnity and excellence in Mr. Cover's address on that day.'

Two Swedes who lived amongst the natives, came on board, and informed captain Wilson, that the old man who was so solicitous to have the captain for a tayo, had formerly been king of Ulietea, was a near relation of the royal family, and of

* To be *tayo*, means to interchange names, and good offices. The *arreoies* is a society devoted to licentious pleasures, and who kill their infants as soon as born, that their enjoyments may not be interrupted.

considerable consequence in the islands, being chief priest over Otaheite and Eimeo. Upon this, Manne was invited into the cabin and treated kindly. He now redoubled his importunities to gain the captain for his friend, who desired him to wait till to-morrow, when he would consider of it.

'About thirty of the natives, chiefly arreoies, intending to go to Matavai, remained on board all the night, and part of the following day, till we anchored in the bay; as did the two Swedes; and slept on the deck. The missionaries watched; all perfectly quiet. At daybreak the old priest awoke, and being impatient to secure the tayoship with the captain, awoke him also. There was now no refusing him any longer, as even good policy was on his side; therefore they exchanged names, and Manne Manne, wrapping a long piece of cloth around the captain, and putting a teboota over his head, requested for himself a musket, some shot and gunpowder: but being told that none of these were to spare, and that he should be amply repaid for what friendly offices he might do us, he seemed satisfied. All the forenoon was employed in working up without the reefs of Oparre; but gaining little ground, at one P. M. we came to anchor in Matavai bay, point Venus bearing N. E. by E. and One Tree hill S. ½ W. distant from the beach about three quarters of a mile. We had not been long at anchor, when all the arreoies, both men and women, sprung into the water and swam to the shore: their place, however, was soon supplied by others, who surrounded the ship with hogs, fruit, and other articles: of these we took a little for present use; but the old priest having promised to supply all our wants by next morning, consequently little was done in the trading way.

'7th. Manne Manne was as good as his word, coming early alongside with three hogs, some fowls, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and a quantity of their cloth; the whole intended as a present for his tayo, the captain. The aged high-priest had brought five of his wives with him on board, not one of which exceeded fifteen years old, and desired he might sleep in the cabin; and, according to the custom of the country, very cordially desired captain Wilson his tayo, to take his choice, and could

hardly persuade himself he was serious in declining the offer; nor failed to inquire of them which he had chosen. This brought on a conversation on the nature of their customs; the captain explained to the old priest, how little such a state of polygamy was suited to happiness; that no woman could be either so attached, faithful, affectionate, or careful to promote domestic felicity, as where the heart was fixed on one object without a rival. The old priest did not at all relish this doctrine, and said such was not the custom of Otaheite; but the ladies highly approved, and said the Pritane custom was my ty, my ty, very good.'

In the forenoon, the missionaries prepared to land. 'The natives had assembled upon the beach to the number of 4 or 500, and as the boat approached some ran into the water, and laying hold of her hauled her aground; then took the captain and missionaries on their backs, and carried them dry on shore. They were received by the young king (Otoo) and his wife Tetua, both carried on men's shoulders; each took the captain by the hand, and in dumb silence surveyed him attentively, looking in his face and minutely examining every part of his dress: they beheld the brethren also with much the same curiosity. The queen opened Mr. Cover's shirt at the breast and sleeves, and seemed astonished at so clear a sight of the blue veins. That this should be the case now, after so many visits from Europeans, may surprise some; but let such consider, that though the oldest and the middle-aged have been fully gratified in these respects, the young ones have as yet seen very little; for there could be but small difference between themselves and the dark complexions of the naked shipwrecked sailors who had lately taken refuge amongst them.

'After this, Manne Manne stood up in the middle of the ring and made a long speech, passing many encomiums on Pretane. When all was over, the king, still holding the captain by the hand, led him to the house, thence to the beach, and so on; till, tired, he requested to return on board. When arrived at the boat, Otoo desired to hear the muskets fired, and, to gratify him, the four they had were discharged twice; with which compliment he seemed highly pleased.

'After dinner Otoo and his wife came off, each in a small canoe, with only one man paddling: whilst they went several times round the ship, the queen was frequently baling her canoe with a cocoa-nut shell. This may help to form an idea of what a queen is in Otaheite. They would not venture on board, because wheresoever they come is deemed sacred, none daring to enter there afterwards except their proper domestics.

'He appears tall and well made, about seventeen; his queen handsome and finely proportioned, about the same age, and always carried about, on shore, on men's shoulders. The king appears thoughtful, speaks little, but surveys every thing with attention. The missionaries supposed something majestic in his appearance, but the captain thought him stupid, and to discover little capacity. As he paddled round the ship, he was offered the compliment of firing the great guns, but he begged us not, as he was afraid that the noise would hurt his ears. Knowing there were women and children on board, they expressed a wish to see them, and when they walked to the ship's side to shew themselves, they set up a cry of admiration and wonder. The sky darkening they made towards shore.'

On the extremity of point Venus, was a large house which had been built by Pomarre, for captain Bligh, who said he would return and live with them, and which was now surrendered to the missionaries. 'The first thing we set about with the house,' say they, 'was to close it quite round with the thicker sort of bamboo, fixing a door on each side, and by this means to keep the natives from crowding so much upon us. The several births or apartments were next planned, and partitions of smaller bamboo begun; but in consequence of the great distance the natives had to go up the valley for these bamboos, the work went but slowly on; though one man stripped his own house to supply us. In the arrangement, the married people had a part of one side to themselves, and the single men the other side: all these apartments were at one end, and chosen by lot. Next to them were marked out a store-room, library, and a place for the doctor and his

medicines. To enclose the whole, a partition went from side to side, with two lock doors. The remaining space was left for a chapel, and into it the two outer doors opened.

'Several of the arreoies of Ulietea having arrived here about the same time as we did with the ship, they with their heivas made much the same stir in Matavai as a company of strolling players often do in the small villages of our own country. Probably the hopes of pleasing the English strangers was also a spur to their exertion, for either in our sight or our hearing they were engaged the whole day in some sport or other. In the afternoon they collected in great numbers before the door of our house, and began a kind of box-fighting or wrestling. First forming a ring, within it stood about a dozen of the stoutest fellows, with their backs to the crowd and faces towards each other. Then the game began with an act of defiance or challenge, made by beating heavy strokes with the flat hand upon the left arm above the elbow, where this part was quite black with the repeated strokes it had received. At last one steps forward to the centre of the circle; another, who thinks himself an equal match, advances to meet him; sometimes only a smart blow or two ensues before they fall back again into their places. At another time, after advancing and gazing at each other for a while, one will suddenly plump the top of his head into the face of his opponent, and this causing him to retire in the dumps, sets all the crowd a-laughing. The worst of the game is, when one gets an advantageous hold of his adversary: a severe wrestling then takes place, and it is only at the expence of strength, and blood, and hair, that they will submit to be parted.'

On the 10th, 'the captain landed for the purpose of presenting some shewy dresses to the young king and his wife. They met him at the beach as usual. Peter informed him of what was intended, and, shewing him the box which contained the treasure, desired Otoo to walk towards his house, a temporary shed they had erected for the purpose of being near our people. This was complied with; and when they came near, the captain, stopping under a tree, ordered them to form a ring, and placing the box in the midst, Otoo was requested

to alight, that the brethren might dress him; he replied, By and by, and gazed sullenly for a considerable time, till the patience of the captain was pretty well exhausted; repeating the request and receiving no answer, they opened the box, and on taking out the dress for the queen, she instantly alighted from the man's shoulder, and Otoo followed her example. The fancy cap fitted her exceedingly well, and she seemed very proud of it, but it was only by unripping that the other articles could be put upon her or Otoo. The captain told him that the carees of Pretane thought he was not yet so stout a man. Dressed complete in this gaudy attire, the surrounding crowd gazed upon them with admiration. She, true to the foibles of her sex, appeared delighted, but Otoo thought little of them, saying an axe, a musket, a knife, or pair of scissors were more valuable: which was saying more for himself than we expected, or that he had even sense to do.'

Next day the pinnace was manned for the women and children. 'Vast numbers of the natives crowded to the beach to gratify their curiosity, all behaving with the greatest respect and very peaceable. Otoo and his wife kept for a while at a little distance, seemingly in doubt whether he should approach the women; but thinking it proper to salute him, he was a little encouraged: however, he still kept silence, and all the way as we walked to the house, gazed stupidly, like another Cymon. The house was surrounded all the afternoon by the natives, who were much delighted with the two children, and sent often for them and the women to shew themselves at the door. In the dusk of the evening they all retired; and this, the brethren remark, they have uniformly done since they first landed. Orders being likewise given at the ship for none of their canoes to come near on the Sunday, they supplied us in the same plentiful manner as they had done the missionaries.

'The Sunday passed very quietly, not one canoe coming near the ship; and on shore no interruption was attempted, the natives, with the king and queen, attending, and conducting themselves in peace and good order. A discussion took place among the brethren concerning the propriety of speaking to the natives upon the important subject of their mission,

when it was agreed that the president (Mr. Jefferson) should address them through the medium of Andrew the Swede as interpreter. Accordingly, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they met for this purpose, several of the natives being present both within and without the house; and as soon as Andrew interpreted the first sentence, finding the discourse was directed to them, they placed themselves in attentive postures. When they understood a little of what was said, they put very pertinent questions; among others, doubting whether we would bestow ought that could be esteemed a benefit equally on all. They asked, whether the message of the British God was to the toutous as well as to the king and chiefs? They were answered in the affirmative; and further, Mr. Jefferson, pointing to his brethren, told them that they were the messengers of the only true God; and that though all men had offended him, he was notwithstanding, a merciful God; conferring on those who believed his word great blessing in this life, and took them to a state of everlasting happiness.

'Next day, about four in the afternoon Pomarre and his wife Iddeah, having just arrived from Tiaraboo, paid their first visit to the ship; besides his usual attendants a number of others had put themselves in his train. When alongside he refused to come farther till the captain shewed himself; this being done, he immediately ascended the side, and coming on to the quarter-deck, wrapped four pieces of cloth round the captain as his own present: then taking that off, repeated the operation with the like quantity in the name of Iddeah. While he was doing this, I thought joy evident in his countenance, and was glad to find in him a picture of good-nature very different from the morose figure which represents him in some editions of Cook's voyages; and could not help thinking that his presence, which we now enjoyed, would afford pleasure to thousands in refined Europe, who have heard so much of the hospitality and favour this prince of savages has always shewn to visitors.

'The first ceremonies over, he told the captain that he would send provisions and whatever we had occasion for while we staid at Otaheite. When seated in the cabin, he expressed

his regard for the English, and called king George his friend. On this the interpreter was desired to inform him, that king George loved him, and that the earees of Pretane did the same; and that out of regard to him and his people, they had sent this ship with some of the best men, purposely to do them good; and then desired to know, whether he was pleased that part of our number should reside on his island. He immediately answered in the affirmative. A piece of land for their use was next mentioned to him; to which, after a few words with his privy counsellor Iddeah, he answered, that the whole district of Matavai should be given to the English, to do with it what they pleased; observing, that Pyteah, the present chief of the district, was a good old man; that it would be for the benefit of our people to permit him to hold his residence near to their dwelling-house; and that he, according to orders which should be given him, would enforce obedience from the natives, and oblige them to bring whatever the English wanted of the produce of the district.

'These most important matters to us being settled, as far as they could be for the present, the chief thought it was time to inquire after entertainments; and first sky-rockets, next the violin and dancing, and lastly the bagpipe, which he humourously described by putting a bundle of cloth under his arm, and twisting his body like a Highland piper. When we told them that we had none of these, they seemed rather dejected; therefore, to revive them, a few tunes were played upon the German flute by Mr. Bowell and one of the seamen, though it plainly appeared that more lively music would have pleased them better.

'Pomarre intimating a wish to sleep on board, it was granted; he then asked leave for his wife and servant, which was also complied with. It may be proper to remark here, that Iddeah, though still considered as the wife of Pomarre, has not for a considerable time cohabited with him, but with one of her toutous (or servants), by whom she has had one child, and is again pregnant; her younger sister, Why'reede, next cohabited with the chief, but left him through dislike for one of far inferior rank; and his present wife is a very stout young

woman, but of what condition we could not learn. However, it is evidently clear, that they hesitate little about mixing with the lower orders of the people; but if issue should be the consequence of these connexions, it is rarely the pride of rank suffers the poor infants to live an hour after they are born. At supper the chief devoured a whole fowl, with the addition of about two pounds of pork, and drank proportionally.

'14th. This morning Manne Manne and several others came on board, all behaving respectfully towards Pomarre, who, with his young wife, Iddeah, and the old priest, breakfasted and dined with us. The tea just suited their taste; and at dinner the two chiefs drank of the wine eagerly. The captain shewing some unwillingness to indulge Manne Manne to a greater degree, he answered to the following purport:—that as he was going to sacrifice a man to the Eatoo, he took it to raise his courage. Expressing our abhorrence of so cruel a design, he became silent; and his friend Peter desired him never to mention any thing of the kind to us.

'Pomarre and Iddeah, in the afternoon, visited the house, and viewed the improvements made with wonder and delight. They partook of a dish of tea with us; one of his attendants poured the tea from the cup to the saucer, and then held it to his mouth: this is the way at every meal; his dignity will not permit him to feed himself. When he had finished, he requested that the saucer might be kept for his future use, and that no woman might be permitted to touch it. We were surprised to see so stout a man, perhaps the largest in the whole island, fed like a cuckoo.'

The brethren now began to be very apprehensive for their safety; but those on board thought without any just cause. The vessel, therefore, made a trip to Eimeo, and on returning, found the missionaries quite confident and pleased with the natives. Captain Wilson, therefore, sailed to Tongataboo. Here they were hospitably received, and found two Europeans; one Ambler, an Englishman, and Connelly, an Irishman; which was a most pleasing circumstance, as they became interpreters between the missionaries and the natives. After

placing seven of the brethren under the protection of a powerful chief, they sailed to the Marquesas.

Having reached these islands during heavy gusts of wind, the ship came to anchor. 'It was now dark, yet two females swam off, in hopes, no doubt, of a favourable reception, but finding they could not be admitted, they kept swimming about the ship for near half an hour, calling out, in a pitiful tone, Waheine! waheine! that is, Woman! or, We are women! They then returned to the shore in the same manner as they came.

'Our first visitors,' says our narrator, 'came early from the shore; they were seven beautiful young women, swimming quite naked, except a few green leaves tied round their middle: they kept playing round the ship for three hours, calling Waheine! until several of the native men had got on board; one of which being the chief of the island, requested that his sister might be taken on board, which was complied with: she was of a fair complexion, inclining to a healthy yellow, with a tint of red in her cheek, was rather stout, but possessing such symmetry of features, as did all her companions, that as models for the statuary and painter their equals can seldom be found. Our Otaheitean girl, who was tolerably fair, was notwithstanding greatly eclipsed by these women, and, I believe, felt her inferiority in no small degree; however, she was supe- in the amiableness of her manners, and possessed more of the softness and tender feeling of the sex: she was ashamed to see a woman upon the deck quite naked, and supplied her with a complete dress of Otaheitean cloth, which set her off to great advantage, and encouraged those in the water, whose numbers were now greatly increased, to importune for admission; and out of pity to them, as we saw they would not return, we took them on board; but they were in a measure disappointed, for they could not all succeed so well as the first in getting clothed; nor did our mischievous goats even suffer them to keep their green leaves, but as they turned to avoid them they were attacked on each side alternately, and completely stripped naked.

'Tenae the chief, happening to touch the wire of the cabin-bell, he was struck with astonishment and savage wonder; he rang the bell again and again, and puzzled himself a quarter of an hour to find whence the sound proceeded. Tenae has a thoughtful cast of countenance, and looks much like the chief and father of a village, and to see him thus employed raised our pity, to behold a man on whom nature, perhaps, had bestowed talents capable of exploring her mysteries, thus confounded with a rattle.

'It was not a little affecting also to see our own seamen repairing the rigging, attended by a group of the most beautiful females, who were employed to pass the ball, or carry the tar-bucket, &c.; and this they did with the greatest assiduity, often besmearing themselves with the tar in the execution of their office. No ship's company, without great restraints from God's grace, could ever have resisted such temptations; and some would have probably offended, if they had not been overawed by the jealousy of the officers and by the good conduct of their messmates.'

Mr. Crook and Mr. Harris were the missionaries who had chosen this station; but the heart of the latter failed him; and it was only a sense of shame that at last induced him to land. On the other hand, Mr. Crook felt quite cheerful and contented, and resolved to suffer patiently every privation. In two or three days after Mr. Harris had landed, a fisherman 'swam off at break of day,' says our author, 'and informed us that Mr. Harris had been on the beach all the night with his chest, and had been robbed of most of his things. This affair at first gained little credit; for we could not suppose him so imprudent as to bring his property down without sending notice, that a boat might be ready to receive them. But, on dispatching the jolly-boat to know the truth, we found it to be really the case. He had come down in the dusk of the evening; and as none from the ship were on shore, the boats being employed at the anchor, and the ship lying too far from the beach for him to hail, he spent an uncomfortable night, sitting upon his chest; about four in the morning the natives,

in order to steal his clothes, drove him off the chest; and for fear they should hurt his person, he fled to the adjacent hills. Mr. Falconer, who went to bring him off, found him in a most pitiable plight, and like one out of his senses. The surf was so high that they could not land, and were therefore obliged to haul the chest and its owner off by means of a rope. The reasons he gave for leaving his partner so abruptly, besides those already mentioned, were such as he might naturally have expected: Tenae, it seems, wanted to treat them with an excursion to another valley, to which Crook readily agreed, but Mr. Harris would not consent. The chief seeing this, and desirous of obliging him, not considering any favour too great, left him his wife, to be treated as if she were his own, till the chief came back again. Mr. Harris told him that he did not want the woman; however, she looked up to him as her husband, and finding herself treated with total neglect, became doubtful of his sex; and acquainted some of the other females with her suspicion, who accordingly came in the night, when he slept, and satisfied themselves concerning that point, but not in such a peaceable way but that they awoke him. Discovering so many strangers, he was greatly terrified; and, perceiving what they had been doing, was determined to leave a place where the people were so abandoned and given up to wickedness: a cause which should have excited a contrary resolution.'

These interesting islands have recently been very accurately described by a missionary, who for some time abandoned his holy office, and adopted the forbidden practices of the natives. Amongst the other narrations, that given by a Russian is the most complete.

Captain Langsdorff, who was sent into the South Seas by the emperor Alexander, in 1804, visited that group of the Marquesas, called Washington islands. 'When the ship approached the shore,' says he, 'the cries, the laughter, the romping of these mirthful people, was indescribable. They swam and played about like a troop of Tritons. The young girls and women were naked, noisy, and, according to our European ideas, immodest. They went about with their

hands in the position of the Medicean Venus, in attitudes which presented a beautiful spectacle to the philosophic observer.' Here was found an Englishman named Roberts, and a Frenchman, a native of Bourdeaux, named Jean Baptiste Cabri. These two Europeans lived in a state of great enmity. Cabri was tatooed, and had married a daughter of one of the inferior chiefs. He appears to have been an unprincipled fellow, and did not possess such influence over the natives as the Englishman. He was however brought away by the Russians, and being an excellent swimmer, was afterwards engaged as teacher of that useful art to the corps of marine cadets at Cronstadt.

When the Duff returned to Otaheite, they found that the brethren had been kindly used, and most plentifully supplied with provisions; but they were much hurt that the queen, Iddeah, persisted in killing her new born child, in defiance of their threats and remonstrances. She is described as a bold, haughty, warlike spirit; and declared that she would observe the customs of her country without minding their displeasure. Manne Manne, after this observed, that the missionaries gave them plenty of the word of God, but not of many other things. By an accurate calculation, captain Wilson concluded that this island did not contain much above 16,000 inhabitants.

Before the Duff sailed, a seaman deserted, and was with great difficulty apprehended, and as the captain suspected that Andrew the Swede was privy to his desertion, he also was put into confinement, and to prevent mischief, it was resolved to carry him away. The ship being well supplied with a sea stock, sailed from this singular and friendly island.

But before we accompany captain Wilson from the South Seas, it may not be uninteresting to notice a few of the largest groups of islands that are scattered over this immense expanse of water, and which seem destined very shortly to become the seats of civilization, and of the Christian religion.

The *Sandwich isles* were first discovered by captain Cook, and here it was that his career of glory was terminated. The natives, though not so handsome as the Otaheiteans, are yet more active, bold, and warlike. They tatoo their bodies in

JEAN BAPTISTE CABRI, A NATIVE OF FRANCE.

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order to give them a terrific appearance in battle. They are mild and affectionate; but their women, as amongst all other uncivilized tribes, are kept in a degraded state of subjection. They are excellent swimmers, and even women with infants at their breasts, will swim through a surf that looks dreadful. The total population of these islands have been estimated at 400,000.

Some Englishmen who escaped from Botany bay, and others left by European vessels, have been extremely useful to these ingenious and industrious people. In 1802, the chief king, an usurper, had a house built of brick, and glazed windows. His fleet was respectable, and his subjects traded to the north-west coast of America. He was also meditating to open a trade with China. His body-guard were uniform, and were regularly disciplined!

The islands of *Navigators* is another important group. The women are licentious, and the men strong and ferocious. The best account of these islands have been given by La Perouse.

New Zealand was explored by captain Cook, in 1770. It consists of two islands, separated by a strait, one of which is not less than 600 miles in length by about 150 in medial breadth, and the other is little inferior in size. The climate is very agreeable, and the land uncommonly fertile. 'The natives,' says Mr. Savage, who visited New Zealand in 1805, 'at least the part of it I visited, are of a very superior order, both in point of personal appearance and intellectual endowments. The men are usually from five feet eight inches to six feet in height; well proportioned, and exhibit evident marks of great strength.

'The colour of the natives, taken as a mean, resembles that of an European gipsey; but there is considerable difference in their shades, varying between the dark chesnut and the light agreeable tinge of an English brunette. Their countenances are in general open; and though you are not alarmed by any marks of savage ferocity, you clearly discover signs of undaunted courage, and a resolution not easily shaken.—The workings of the mind are readily discernable in most instances;

but this country is not without its dissemblers; and particularly among those advanced in life are to be found some who can smile, and assent to your opinion, when their natural feelings dictate a frown, and a decided disapprobation of your conduct or sentiments.'

This people has also been very accurately described by Cook, Furneaux, and King. These judicious observers say, that the dispositions of both sexes are sanguinary and ferocious, and they are implacable towards their enemies. It seems strange that, where there is so little to be got by victory, there should so often be war; and that every district should be at enmity with all the rest. But possibly more is to be gained by victory among these people than at first appears.

The New Zealanders live under perpetual apprehensions of being destroyed by each other; there being few of their tribes that have not, as they think, sustained wrongs from some other tribe, which they are continually on the watch to revenge: and the desire of a good meal is no small incitement. Many years will sometimes elapse before a favourable opportunity happens, yet the son never loses sight of an injury that has been done to his father. Their method of executing their horrible designs, is by stealing upon the adverse party in the night: and if they find them unguarded (which is very seldom the case) they kill every one indiscriminately, not even sparing the women and children. When the massacre is completed, they either feast and gorge themselves on the spot, or carry off as many of the dead bodies as they can, and devour them at home, with acts of brutality too shocking to be described. If they are discovered before they can execute their bloody purpose, they generally steal off again; and sometimes are pursued and attacked by the other party in their turn. To give quarter, or to take prisoners, makes no part of their military law; so that the vanquished could only save their lives by flight.

The inhabitants of the other parts of the South Seas have not even the idea of indecency with respect to any object or any action; but those of New Zealand, in their conduct and conversation, observe rather more decorum. The women,

though they are not impregnable, are more decent in their manner. In personal cleanliness, they are not quite equal to the Otaheiteans; because, not having the advantage of so warm a climate, they do not so often go into the water: but the most disgusting thing about them is the oil, with which they anoint their hair; it is the fat either of fish or of birds, melted down; and though the higher ranks have it fresh, their inferiors use that which is rancid, and consequently are almost as disagreeable to the smell as a Hottentot; neither are their heads free from vermin, though they are furnished with combs, both of bone and wood; these combs are sometimes worn stuck upright in the hair as an ornament. But there was seen among them one instance of cleanliness in which they exceeded them, and of which perhaps there is no example in any other Indian nation. Every house, or every little cluster of two or three houses, was furnished with a privy, so that the ground was every where clean. The offals of their food, and other litter, were also piled up in regular dunghills, which probably they made use of at a proper time for manure.

The men generally wear their beards short, and their hair tied upon the crown of the head in a bunch, in which they stick the feathers of various birds, in different manners, according to their fancies; sometimes one is placed on each side of the temples, pointing forwards, which we thought made a very disagreeable appearance. The women cropped short, and sometimes flowing over their shoulders.

The dress of the New Zealander, is certainly to a stranger, at first sight, the most uncouth that can be imagined. It is made of the leaves of a flag, split into three or four slips, and the slips when they are dry, interwoven with each other into a kind of stuff, between netting and cloth, with all the ends, which are eight or nine inches long, hanging out on the upper side, like the shag or thrumb mats, which we sometimes see lying in a passage. Of this cloth, if cloth it may be called, two pieces serve for a complete dress; one of them is tied over their shoulders with a string, and reaches as low as the knees; to the end of this string is fastened a bodkin of bone, which is easily passed through any two parts of this upper garment, so

as to tack them together: the other piece is wrapped round the waist, and reaches nearly to the ground: the lower part, however, is worn by the men only upon particular occasions; but they wear a belt, to which a string is fastened, for a very singular use. Over this garment some of them wear mats, which reach from the shoulders to near the heels. But the most common covering is a quantity of a sedgy plant badly dressed, which they fasten on a string of considerable length, and throwing it about the shoulders, let it fall down on all sides, as far as the middle of the thighs. When they sit down, with these upon them, either in their boats or upon the shore, it would be difficult to distinguish them from large grey stones, if their black heads, projecting beyond their coverings, did not engage a stricter attention. When they have only their upper garment on, and sit upon their hams, they bear some resemblance to a thatched house; but this covering, though it is ugly, is well adapted to the use of those who frequently sleep in the open air, without any other shelter from the rain. We have here given the representation of a family of Dusky bay.

The ingenuity of these people appears most remarkable in their canoes. They are long and narrow, and in shape very much resemble a New England whale boat: the larger sort seem to be built chiefly for war, and will carry from forty to eighty or an hundred armed men.—One was measured which lay ashore at Tolaga: she was sixty-eight feet and an half long, five feet broad, and three feet and an half deep: the bottom was sharp, with strait sides like a wedge, and consisted of three lengths, hollowed out to about two inches, or an inch and an half thick, and well fastened together with strong plaiting: each side consisted of one entire plank, sixty-three feet long, ten or twelve inches broad, and about an inch and a quarter thick, and these were fitted and lashed to the bottom part with great dexterity and strength. A considerable number of thwarts were laid from gunwale to gunwale, to which they were securely lashed on each side, as a strengthening to the boat. The ornament at the head projected five or six feet beyond the body, and was about four feet and an half

Family in Dusky Bay new Zealand

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A Hippa, or Place of retreat in New Zealand & a War Canoe.

Published by Mackenzie & Dent

high; the ornament at the stern was fixed upon that end, as the stern-post of a ship is upon her keel, and was about fourteen feet high, two feet broad, and an inch and an half thick. They both consisted of boards of carved work, of which the design was much better than the execution.

The paddles are small, light, and neatly made; the blade is of an oval shape, or rather of a shape resembling a large leaf, pointed at the bottom, broadest in the middle, and gradually losing itself in the shaft; the whole length being about six feet, of which the shaft or loom, including the handle, is four, and the blade two. By help of these oars they push on their boats with amazing velocity.

Having called again at Tongataboo, captain Wilson proceeded on his voyage on the 7th of September. About nine o'clock on the 13th, the ship struck upon a coral rock. 'All hands were upon deck in an instant,' says the writer, 'and, as she stuck fast, became under great apprehensions of being shipwrecked; a misfortune which presented itself with a thousand frightful ideas. We knew that the Feejees were cannibals of a fierce disposition, and who had never had the least intercourse with any voyagers; consequently we could expect no favour from such. Imagination, quick and fertile on such occasions, figured them dancing round us, while we were roasting on large fires. However, it was no time to indulge thoughts of this kind, but to try what could be done to save the ship. Judging it to be a weather reef we were on, the moment she struck the sails were hove aback, and in five or six minutes we beheld with joy that she came astern, and shortly after was quite afloat; when we were again delivered from our fears, and found the ship, which had kept upright the whole time, seemed to have received no injury.'

On the 25th they discovered several islands which were called Duff's group. The natives appeared stout and well made, and their houses built close, which indicated some degree of civilization. On the 29th they passed near New Georgia, where a few canoes came alongside from a small island, and Tucker and Connelly were discovered swimming near the stem with a view of escaping, which the captain per-

mitted, being desirous to get clear of them. After this they sailed past the Carolinas, and on the 5th of November, approached the Pelew islands. Many of the islanders came on board and were clamorous for the ship to come to an anchor; but as no safe anchorage could be discovered, the ship was kept under way. The natives, says our author, 'are in our opinion, inferior in external appearance to the Marquesans, the Society or Friendly islanders; they have not the stature and symmetry of the two first, and fall far short of the muscular, bold, and manly look of the latter. They approach the nearest to their neighbours, the Carolinians; for, like them, they are neither a stout nor handsome race. Among some customs which they seem to have in common at both places, is that of slitting the ear, through which some of them put vegetable ornaments, at least an inch thick. In tatooing at Pelew, their legs and thighs appear as if they had been dipped in a dye of blueish black, the same as at the Carolinas; but they mark their bodies also with figures, like fingers, or gloves. They appeared before us quite naked, without seeming conscious of shame, and shewed their kindness and hospitality by the earnest invitations they gave us to visit their habitations.' Captain Wilson on leaving this group, steered north-west to the Bashees, leaving the Philippine islands on the west.

Of this interesting group, the isle of Luzon, or Luconia, is the chief. The capital is Manilla, which is built upon the shore of the bay which bears its name, and which is more than twenty-five leagues in circumference, lies at the mouth of a river that is navigable as far as the lake from which it derives its source, and is as delightfully situated as any place in the world. All the necessaries of life are to be procured there in the greatest abundance, and at an excellent market; but the cloths, manufactures, and furniture of Europe bear an excessive price. The want of emulation, together with prohibitions, and every species of restraint put upon commerce, render the productions and merchandise of China and India in general as dear as in Europe; and this colony, notwithstanding its receipts from the customs amounts to near 800,000

A Man & Woman of the Island of Luconia.

Published by Mackenzie & Dent.

piastres, still costs Spain every year 1,500,000 livres, which are sent hither from Mexico.

The immense possessions of the Spaniards in America seem to have prevented the government from essentially applying its attention to the Philippines. M. de la Perouse asserts, that a great nation which should not have any other colony than the Philippines, and which would establish the best kind of government there that could be constituted, might without envy behold all the European settlements in Africa and America.

The city of Manilla, with its environs, is very considerable; its population is estimated at 30,000 persons, among which there are not more than 1000 or 1200 Spaniards; the rest are Mulattoes, Chinese, or Indians, who cultivate all the arts, and are employed in every species of industry.

The poorest of the Spanish families have one or more carriages: two fine horses are purchased for thirty piasters; the board and wages of a coachman amount to not more than six piasters a month; thus there is not any country where the expence of a coach is more necessary, and at the same time less weighty.

The neighbourhood of Manilla is delightful; a beautiful river flows by it, branching into different channels, the two principal of which lead to that famous lagoon, or lake of Bahia, which is seven leagues within the country, bordered by more than 100 Indian villages, situate in the midst of a highly fertile territory.

M. de la Perouse, who, attended by some of his officers, took an opportunity of visiting these parts, relates, that they neither met with handsome houses, nor parks, nor gardens; but that nature is there so beautiful, that a simple Indian village on the bank of the river, a house in the European style, surrounded by a few trees, forms a view more picturesque than that of the most magnificent palace, and the coldest imagination could not avoid painting happiness to itself in this delightful simplicity. The Spaniards in general quit their town houses after the Easter holidays, in order to pass the summer, which is intensely hot, in the country. There has been no attempt to embellish a country which has no need

of the assistance of art. A neat house, built on the water's edge, with very convenient baths, without avenues or gardens, but shaded by a few fruit trees, constitutes the dwelling of the most opulent citizens; to which description M. de la Perouse adds, that this would be one of the most delightful spots in the world to live in, if a more moderate government, and fewer prejudices, would secure the civil liberty of every inhabitant.

After passing the Bashees, captain Wilson, on the 20th of November, got into soundings and passed several Chinese fishing boats, and on the following day, came to anchor in Macao roads. On the 9th of December, he obtained permission to go up the river, and on the 2d of January, 1798, he returned to Macao, with a cargo of tea on board. The devotion of the crew of the Duff, induced the English sailors to call her *The Ten Commandments.*

On the 16th, the Duff came to anchor in Malucca road, and having obtained a supply of water and provision, sailed again on the 20th. Near Prince of Wales island, the Duff seperated from the Bombay ships, and passing the Maldives, steered direct to the cape of Good Hope.

The Maldives are a cluster of interesting small islands, more than 1300 in number. They form as it were an oblong inclosure of small low regular isles, around a clear space of sea, with very little shallow water between each. They are governed by a chief, called Atoll, and the trade is in cowrie shells, with cocoa-nuts, and fish. The inhabitants are mild and gentle, their language is Singalese, and there are some Mahometans.

On the 17th of March, the Duff anchored in Table bay, on the 1st of April, sailed for England, and on the 11th of July came to anchor in the river Thames. Thus the Duff had run about 46,000 miles in nineteen months, fifteen of them at sea, without the crew experiencing any sickness.

Engd. by Sigl.

The Habits of the Maldivians

Published by Mackenzie & Dent.

Ford sculp.t Manch.r

The Ancient City of Palmira as it now appears

Published by Mackenzie & Dent.

TRAVELS

TO

PALMYRA,

OR

TADMOR IN THE DESERT,

BY

MR. R. WOOD.

IN the year 1751, Mr. Wood, accompanied by M. Bouverie and Mr. Dawkens, travelled to the site of the famous Palmyra, which is situated fifty leagues south east of Aleppo, and twenty leagues west of the Euphrates. The result of this gentleman's observations was published in 1753, in the form of an atlas.

Palmyra, or Tadmor, is a noble city of ancient Syria, now in ruins, the origin of whose name is uncertain. Neither is it well known by whom this city was built; for though, from the identity of the names, it is thought by many to have been the *Tadmor in the wilderness* built by Solomon, this point, however, is much controverted by many learned men. For the world have been long and justly astonished to find in the desert of Syria, at a distance from the sea, with a very precarious and scanty supply of water only, and without a particular connexion with any great monarchy, ruins of a city more extensive and splendid than Rome itself, the depositary of all the arts which Greece in its most flourishing periods could afford.

This problem will, however, be easily solved when we consider, that this city was the emporium of an extensive com-

merce, for which it was excellently adapted from its central situation between Lower Asia, and the Persian gulf.

There is, however, no authentic history of Palmyra till after the captivity of the Roman emperor Valerian by the Persians. It is first mentioned by the Roman historians, as a place which Mark Antony attempted to plunder, upon pretence that it had not observed a just neutrality between the Romans and Parthians. Pliny takes notice of it as being situated in a rich soil, among pleasant streams, and totally separated from the rest of the world by a vast sandy desert, which had preserved its independence between Parthia and Rome. There is still a considerable spot of good soil next the town and on the hills; and even in the wilderness, there were palms and fig trees, some of which remained till the latter end of the seventeenth century, though not one is now to be found.

After the captivity of Valerian, it was become an opulent city, to which its situation in the vicinity of the Roman and Parthian empires greatly contributed; as the caravans, in going to or returning from the east, frequented the place, and thus rendered it a considerable seat of merchandise. It enjoyed an independency till the time of Trajan; who, having made himself master of almost all the Parthian empire, reduced Palmyra likewise, and it was afterwards accounted part of the Roman dominions.

Odenathus, prince of Palmyra, rendered it independent; but he was murdered by his nephew, who was soon after put to death by Zenobia, the wife of Odenathus. This lady is said to have been possessed of very extraordinary endowments both of body and mind, being, according to Mr. Gibbon, almost the only Asiatic woman who is recorded to have overcome the obstacles arising from the confined situation of the fair sex in that part of the world. Immediately on taking vengeance for the murder of her husband, she assumed the government, and soon strengthened herself so much, that she resolved to submit neither to the Roman nor Persian power. The neighbouring states of Arabia, Armenia, and Persia, dreaded her enmity, and solicited her alliance. To the dominions of Odenathus, which extended from the Euphrates to the frontiers of Bithy-

The Temple of the Sun from the North West

Published by Mackenzie & Dent

nia, his widow added the inheritance of her ancestors, the populous and fertile kingdom of Egypt.

When Aurelian passed over into Asia, against an adversary whose sex alone could render her an object of contempt, his presence restored obedience to the province of Bithynia, already shaken by the arms and intrigues of Zenobia. Antioch was deserted on his approach; till the emperor, by his salutary edicts, recalled the fugitives, and granted a general pardon to all who, from necessity rather than choice, had been engaged in the service of the Palmyrenian queen.

Zenobia would have ill deserved her reputation, had she indolently permitted the emperor of the west to approach within 100 miles of her capital. The fate of the east was decided in two great battles; so similar in almost every circumstance, that we can scarcely distinguish them from each other. Palmyra was the last resource of the widow of Odenathus. She retired within the walls of her capital; made every preparation for a vigorous resistance; and declared with the intrepidity of a heroine that the last moment of her reign and of her life should be the same.

Zenobia made a most desperate defence; but fortune, and the perseverance of Aurelian, overcame every obstacle. From every part of Syria a regular succession of convoys safely arrived in the camp, which was increased by the return of Probus with his victorious troops from the conquest of Egypt. It was then that Zenobia resolved to fly. She mounted the fleetest of her dromedaries; and had already reached the banks of the Euphrates, about sixty miles from Palmyra, when she was overtaken by the pursuit of Aurelian's light-horse, seized, and brought back to the feet of the emperor. Her capital soon after surrendered, and was treated with unexpected lenity. However, the courage of Zenobia deserted her in the hour of trial; she trembled at the angry clamours of the soldiers, who called aloud for her immediate execution; forgot the generous despair of Cleopatra, which she had proposed as her model; and ignominiously purchased life by the sacrifice of her fame and her friends. It was to their councils, which governed the weakness of her sex, that she imputed the

guilt of her obstinate resistance; it was on their heads that she directed the vengeance of the cruel Aurelian.

Shortly after, the Palmyrenians revolted and suffered most severely from the rage of the Romans. The seat of commerce, of arts, and of Zenobia, gradually sunk into an obscure town, a trifling fortress, and at length a miserable village.

The company with whom Mr. Wood, the publisher of the Ruins of Palmyra, travelled, arrived at length at the end of plain, where a ridge of barren hills, by which it was divided on the right and left, seemed to meet; between them there was a vale, through which an aqueduct formerly conveyed water to Palmyra On each side of this vale they remarked several sepulchres of the ancient Palmyrenes, which they had scarce passed, when the hills opening on a sudden, they discovered such piles of ruin as they had never seen. They were all of white marble; and beyond them, towards the Euphrates, was a wide level, stretching farther than the eye could reach, totally desolate, without variety, and without bounds. After having gazed some time upon this prospect, which rather exceeded than fell short of their expectations, they were conducted to one of the huts of the Arabs, of which there are about thirty in the court of the temple. The inhabitants of both sexes were well shaped, and the women, though very swarthy, had good features. They were veiled, but did not so scrupulously conceal their faces as the eastern women generally do. They paint the ends of their fingers red, their lips blue, and their eyebrows and eyelashes black. They had large rings of gold or brass in their ears and nostrils, and appeared to be healthy and robust. The walls of the city are flanked by square towers, into which some ancient funeral monuments have been converted; but the walls are in most places level with the ground, and sometimes not to be traced. It is, however, probable, by their general direction, that they included the great temple, and are three miles in circumference. The Arabs showed a tract which was near ten miles in circumference, the soil of which was raised a little above the level of the desert: this, they said, was the extent of the old city; and that by digging in any part of it ruins were discovered.

The Entrance into the Temple of the Sun in Palmyra from the East

Published by Mackenzie & Dent

These ruins consist of temples, palaces, and porticos of Grecian architecture; and lie scattered over an extent of several miles. They were accidentally discovered by some English travellers from Aleppo somewhat more than a century ago. By far the most remarkable of them is the Temple of the Sun, of which the ruins are spread over a square of 220 yards. It was encompassed with a stately wall, built of large square stones, and adorned with pilasters within and without, to the number of sixty-two on a side. Within the court are the remains of two rows of very noble marble pillars thirty-seven feet high, with their capitals of most exquisite workmanship. Of these only fifty-eight remain entire; but there must have been many more, for they appear to have gone round the whole court, and to have supported a double piazza. The walks on that side of the piazza which is opposite to the front of the castle seem to have been the most spacious and beautiful. At the end of this line are two niches for statues, with their pedestals, borders, supporters, and canopies, carved with the utmost propriety and elegance. The space within this inclosure, which is now filled with the dirty huts of the inhabitants, seems to have been an open court, in the middle of which stood the temple, encompassed with another row of pillars of a different order, and much taller, being fifty feet high; but of these sixteen only remain. The whole space contained within these pillars is fifty-nine yards in length, and near twenty-eight in breadth. The temple is no more than thirty-three yards in length, and thirteen or fourteen in breadth. It points north and south; and exactly into the middle of the building, on the west side, is a most magnificent entry, on the remains of which are some vines and clusters of grapes carved in the most bold and masterly imitation of nature that can be conceived. Just over the door are discerned a pair of wings, which extend its whole breadth: the body to which they belonged is totally destroyed; and it cannot now certainly be known whether it was that of an eagle or a cherub, several representations of both being visible on other fragments of the building. It is observed of the windows of this building, which were not large, that they were narrower at the top than

below. The north end of this building is adorned with the most curious fret-work and bas-relief; and in the middle there is a dome or copula about ten feet diameter, which appears to have been either hewn out of the rock, or moulded to some composition which by time is grown equally hard. North of this place is an obelisk, consisting of seven large stones, besides its capital and the wreathed work about it. It is about fifty feet high; and just above the pedestal, is twelve feet in circumference. There was probably a statue upon it, which the Turks, in their zeal against idolatry, destroyed. At about the distance of a quarter of a mile from this pillar, to the east and west, are two others, besides the fragment of a third; so that perhaps they were originally a continued row.

About 100 paces from the middle obelisk, straight forward, is a magnificent entry to a piazza, which is forty feet broad, and more than half a mile in length, inclosed with two rows of marble pillars twenty-six feet high, and eight or nine feet in compass. Of these there still remain 129; and, by a moderate computation, there could not originally have been less than 560. The upper end of the piazza was shut in by a row of pillars, standing somewhat closer than those on each side. A little to the left are the ruins of a stately building, which appears to have been a banqueting-house. It is built of better marble, and is finished with yet greater elegance, than the piazza. The pillars which supported it were of one entire stone, which is so strong, that one of them which is fallen down has received no injury. It measures twenty-two feet in length, and in compass eight feet nine inches. In the west side of the piazza are several apertures for gates into the court of the palace. Each of these was adorned with four porphyry pillars, not standing in a line with those of the wall, but placed by couples in the front of the gate facing the palace, two on each side. Two of these only remain entire, and but one standing in its place. They are thirty feet long and nine in circumference. On the east side of the piazza stands a great number of marble pillars, some perfect, but the greater part mutilated. In one place eleven are ranged together in a square: the space which they inclose is paved with broad flat

stones, but there are no remains of a roof, and the walls are much defaced. Before the entry, which looks to the south, is a piazza supported by six pillars, two on each side of the door, and one at each end. The pedestals of those in front have been filled with inscriptions both in the Greek and Palmyrene languages, which are become totally unintelligible. Among these ruins are many sepulchres: they are ranged on each side of a hollow way, toward the north part of the city, and extend more than a mile. They are all square towers, four or five stories high. But though they are alike in form, yet they differ greatly in magnitude and splendour. The outside is of common stone, but the floors and partitions of each story are marble. There is a walk across the whole building, just in the middle; and the space on each hand is subdivided into six partitions by thick walls. The space between the partitions is wide enough to receive the largest corpse; and in these niches there are six or seven piled upon one another.

TRAVELS IN RUSSIA,

BY

E. D. CLARKE, L. L. D.

IN THE YEAR 1800.

THIS able and intelligent traveller, whom we have before accompanied through the Holy Land, has acquired much celebrity for the strength and clearness with which he has pourtrayed the Russian character:—a subject which has recently acquired additional importance from the ambitious views, the military achievements, and the increasing greatness of this empire.

Dr. Clarke set out from St. Petersburg, to the south of Russia on the 3d of April. On this road, he observes, 'the traveller bids adieu to all thoughts of inns, or even houses with the common necessaries of bread and water. He will not even find clean straw, if he should speculate upon the chance of a bed. Every thing he may want must therefore be taken with him. A pewter tea-pot will prove of more importance than a chest of plate, and more so than one of silver, because it will not be stolen, and may be kept equally clean and entire. To this he will add, a kettle, a saucepan, the top of which may be used for a dish, tea, sugar, and a large cheese, with several loaves of bread made into rusks, and as much fresh bread as he thinks will keep till he has a chance of procuring more. Then, while the frost continues, he may carry frozen food, such as game, or fish, which, being congealed, and as hard as flint, may jolt about among his kettles in the well of the carriage without any chance of injury. Wine may be

used in a cold country; but never in a hot, or even in a temperate climate, while upon the road. In hot countries, if a cask of good vinegar can be procured, the traveller will often bless the means by which it was obtained. When, with a parched tongue, a dry and feverish skin, they bring him bad or good water to assuage his thirst, the addition of a little vinegar will make the draught delicious. Care must be taken not to use it to excess, for it is sometimes so tempting a remedy against somnolency, that it is hardly possible to resist using the vinegar without any mixture of water.'

After visiting the palace of Tsarskoselo, he arrived at Novogorod. 'The place was half buried in snow, but we managed to get to the cathedral, curious to see the collection of pictures, idols of the Greek church, which that ancient building contains; and which, with many others dispersed in the cities and towns of Russia, were introduced long before the art of painting was practised in Italy. The knowledge of this circumstance led me to hope that I should make some very curious acquisitions in the country, and upon my first arrival from the Swedish frontier I had given a few pounds to a Russian officer for his god; this consisted of an oval plate of copper, on which the figure of a warrior was beautifully painted on a gold ground. The warrior proved afterwards to be St. Alexander Nevski: and as I advanced through the country to Petersburg, there was hardly a hut, or a post-house, that did not contain one or more paintings upon small pannels of wood.

'The cathedral of Novogorod, dedicated to St. Sophia, in imitation of the name given to the magnificent edifice erected by Justinian at Constantinople, was built in the eleventh century. Many of the pictures seem to have been there from the time in which the church was finished, and doubtless were some of them painted long before its consecration, if they were not brought into the country with the introduction of Christianity. In the Greek church they followed the idols of paganism, and have continued to maintain their place. They are one of the first and most curious sights which attract a traveller's notice; for it is not only in their churches that such paintings are preserved; every room throughout the em-

pire has a picture of this nature, large or small, called the Bogh, or God, stuck up in one corner; to this every person who enters offers adoration, before any salutation is made to the master or mistress of the house. The adoration consists in a quick motion of the right hand in crossing, the head bowing all the time in a manner so rapid and ludicrous, that it reminds one of those Chinese mandarin images seen upon the chimney-pieces of old houses, which, when set a-going, continue nodding, for the amusement of old women and children.

'I do not know what first gave rise to a notion, very prevalent, that the road from Petersburg to Moscow is a straight line through forests, except that it was the intention of Peter the Great to have it so made. The country is generally open, a wide and fearful prospect of hopeless sterility, where the fir and the dwarf birch, which cover even Arctic regions, scarcely find existence. The soil is for the most part sandy, and apparently of a nature to set agriculture at defiance. Towards the latter part of the journey, corn-fields appeared, of considerable extent.

'The female peasants of the Valday have a costume which resembles one in Switzerland. It consists of a shift with full sleeves, and a short petticoat with coloured stockings. Over this, in winter, they wear a pelisse of lamb's wool, as white as the snow around them, lined with cloth, and adorned with gold buttons and lace. The hair of unmarried women, as in most parts of Russia, is braided, and hangs to a great length down their backs. On their heads they wear a handkerchief of coloured silk. When married, the hair is trussed up, and this constitutes the outward mark of a virgin, or a matron.

'The picture of Russian manners varies little with reference to the prince or the peasant. The first nobleman in the empire, when dismissed by his sovereign from attendance upon his person, or withdrawing to his estate in consequence of dissipation and debt, betakes himself to a mode of life little superior to that of brutes. You will then find him, throughout the day, with his neck bare, his beard lengthened, his body wrapped in a sheep's skin, eating raw turnips, and drinking

quass, sleeping one half of the day, and growling at his wife and family the other. The same feelings, the same wants, wishes, and gratifications, then characterize the nobleman and the peasant; and the same system of tyranny, which extends from the throne downwards, through all the bearings and ramifications of society, even to the cottage of the lowest boor, has entirely extinguished every spark of liberality in the breasts of a people who are all slaves. They are all, high and low, rich and poor, alike servile to superiors; haughty and cruel to their dependants; ignorant, superstitious, cunning, brutal, barbarous, dirty, mean. The emperor canes the first of his grandees; princes and nobles cane their slaves; and the slaves, their wives and daughters. Ere the sun dawns in Russia, flagellation begins; and throughout its vast empire cudgels are going, in every department of its population, from morning until night.

'Arriving at the barrier of Moscow, we were some time detained during the examination of our passports. This entrance to the city, like most of the others, is a gate with two columns, one on each side, surmounted by eagles. On the left is the guard house. Within this gate a number of slaves were employed, removing the mud from the streets, which had been caused by the melting of the snow. Peasants with their khabitkas, in great numbers, were leaving the town. Into these vehicles, the slaves amused themselves by heaping as much of the mud as they could throw in, unperceived by the drivers, who sat in front. The officer appointed to superintend their labour chanced to arrive and detect them in their filthy work, and we hoped he would instantly have prohibited such an insult from being offered to the poor men. His conduct, however, only served to afford a trait of the national character. Instead of preventing any further attack upon the khabitkas, he seemed highly entertained by the ingenuity of the contrivance; and, to encourage the sport, ordered every peasant to halt, and to hold his horse, while they filled his khabitka with the mud and ordure of the streets; covering with it the provisions of the poor peasants, and whatever else their khabitkas might contain, with which they were going peaceably to their

wives and families. At last, to complete their scandalous oppression, they compelled each peasant, as he passed, to sit down in his khabitka, and then they covered him also with the black and stinking mud. At this unexampled instance of cruelty and insult, some of the peasants, more spirited than the rest, ventured to murmur. Instantly, blows, with a heavy cudgel, on the head and shoulders, silenced the poor wretches' complaints. Before this began, the two sentinels at the gate had stopped every khabitka, as it passed, with a very different motive. First, a loud and menacing tone of voice seemed to indicate some order of government; but it was quickly silenced, and became a whisper, in consequence of a small piece of money being slipped into their hands by the peasants, when they passed on without further notice. If the practice continues, the post of centinel at a Russian barrier must be more profitable than that of a staff-officer in the service. I was witness to upwards of fifty extorted contributions of this nature, in the course of half an hour, when the plunder ended as has been described.

'There is nothing more extraordinary in this country than the transition of the seasons. The people of Moscow have no spring: winter *vanishes*, and summer *is!* This is not the work of a week, or a day, but of one instant; and the manner of it exceeds belief. We came from Petersburg to Moscow in sledges. The next day, snow was gone. On the 8th of April, at mid-day, snow beat in at our carriage windows. On the same day, at sun-set, arriving in Moscow, we had difficulty in being dragged through the mud to the commandant's. The next morning the streets were dry, the double windows had been removed from the houses, the casements thrown open, all the carriages were upon wheels, and the balconies filled with spectators. A few days afterwards we experienced seventy-three degrees of heat, according to the scale of Fahrenheit, when the thermometer was placed in the shade at noon.

'We arrived at the season of the year in which this city is most interesting to strangers. Moscow is in every thing extraordinary; as well in disappointing expectation, as in sur-

TRAVELLERS IN RUSSIA.

Engraved for Porter's Voyages.

passing it; in causing wonder and derision, pleasure and regret. Let me conduct the reader back with me again to the gate by which we entered, and thence through the streets. Numerous spires, glittering with gold, amidst burnished domes and painted palaces, appear in the midst of an open plain for several versts before you reach this gate. Having passed, you look about, and wonder what is become of the city, or where you are; and are ready to ask, once more, How far is it to Moscow; they will tell you, "This is Moscow!" and you behold nothing but a wide and scattered suburb, huts, gardens, pig-sties, brick walls, churches, dunghills, palaces, timber-yards, warehouses, and a refuse, as it were, of materials sufficient to stock an empire with miserable towns and miserable villages. One might imagine all the states of Europe and Asia had sent a building, by way of representative, to Moscow; and under this impression the eye is presented with deputies from all countries, holding congress: timber huts from regions beyond the Arctic; plastered palaces from Sweden and Denmark, not white-washed since their arrival; painted walls from the Tirol; mosques from Constantinople; Tartar temples from Bucharia; pagodas, pavillions, and virandas, from China; cabarets from Spain; dungeons, prisons, and public offices, from France; architectural ruins from Rome; terraces and trellisses from Naples; and warehouses from Wapping.

'The description often given of the splendour of the equipages in Moscow but ill agrees with their appearance during Lent. A stranger, who arrives with his head full of notions of Asiatic pomp and eastern magnificence, would be surprised to find narrow streets, execrably paved, covered with mud or dust; wretched looking houses on each side; carriages drawn, it is true, by six horses, but such cattle! blind, lame, old, out of condition, of all sizes and all colours, connected by rotten ropes and old cords, full of knots and splices; on the leaders, and on the box, figures that seem to have escaped the galleys; behind, a lousy, ragged lackey, or perhaps, two, with countenances exciting more pity than derision; and the carriage itself like the worst of the night-coaches in London. But this external wretchedness, as far as it concerns the equipages of the

nobles, admits of some explanation. The fact is, that a dirty, tattered livery, a rotten harness, bad horses, and a shabby vehicle, constitute one part of the privation of the season. On Easter Monday the most gaudy but fantastic splendour fills every street in the city. The emperor, it is true, in his high consideration for the welfare and happiness of his subjects, deemed it expedient to adapt the appearance to the reality of their wretchedness; and, in restraining the excessive extravagance of the people of Moscow, manifested more wisdom than the world have given him credit for possessing.

'The second grand ceremony of this season takes place on Thursday before Easter, at noon, when the archbishop washes the feet of the apostles. This we also witnessed. The priests appeared in their most gorgeous apparel. Twelve monks, designed to represent the twelve apostles, were placed in a semicircle before the archbishop. The ceremony is performed in the cathedral, which is crowded with spectators. The archbishop, performing all and much more than is related of our Saviour in the thirteenth chapter of St. John, takes off his robes, girds up his loins with a towel, and proceeds to wash the feet of them all, until he comes to the representative of Peter, who rises; and the same interlocution passes between him and the archbishop, which is there recorded to have taken place between our Saviour and that apostle.

'The third, and most magnificent ceremony of all, is celebrated two hours after midnight, in the morning of Easter Sunday. It is called the Ceremony of the Resurrection, and certainly exceeded every thing of the kind at Rome, or anywhere else. I have not seen so splendid a sight in any Roman Catholic country; not even excepting that of the Benediction by the Pope, during the holy week.

'At midnight, the great bell of the cathedral tolled. Its vibrations seemed the rolling of distant thunder; and they were instantly accompanied by the noise of all the bells in Moscow. Every inhabitant was stirring, and the rattling of carriages in the streets was greater than at noon-day. The whole city was in a blaze; lights were seen in all the windows, and innumerable torches in the streets. The tower of the

A View of the Castle & part of the City of Moscow.

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cathedral was illuminated from its foundation to its cross. The same ceremony takes place in all the churches; and, what is truly surprising, considering their number, they are all equally crowded.

'We hastened to the cathedral, which was filled with a prodigious assembly of all ranks and sexes, bearing lighted wax tapers, to be afterwards heaped as vows on the different shrines. The walls, ceilings, and every part of this building, are covered by the pictures of saints and martyrs. In the moment of our arrival the doors were shut; and on the outside appeared Plato, the archbishop, preceded by banners and torches, and followed by all his train of priests, with crucifixes and censers, who were making three times, in procession, the tour of the cathedral; chaunting with loud voices, and glittering in sumptuous vestments, covered with gold, silver, and precious stones. The snow had not melted so rapidly in the Kremlin as in the streets of the city: this magnificent procession was therefore constrained to move upon planks, over the deep mud which surrounded the cathedral. After completing the third circuit, they all halted opposite the great doors, which were shut; the archbishop, with a censer, scattering incense against the doors, and over the priests. Suddenly, these doors were opened, and the effect was beyond description great. The immense throng of spectators within, bearing innumerable tapers, formed two lines, through which the archbishop entered, advancing with his train to a throne near the centre. The profusion of lights in all parts of the cathedral, and, among others, of the enormous chandelier which hung from the centre, the richness of the dresses, and the vastness of the assembly, filled us with astonishment. Having joined the suite of the archbishop, we accompanied the procession, and passed even to the throne, on which the police officers permittted us to stand, among the priests, near an embroidered stool of satin placed for the archbishop. The loud chorus, which burst forth at the entrance to the church, continued as the procession moved towards the throne, and after the archbishop had taken his seat; when my attention was for a moment called off, by seeing one of the Russians earnestly crossing himself with his right hand, while

his left was employed in picking my companion's pocket of his handkerchief.

'Soon after, the archbishop descended, and went all round the cathedral; first offering incense to the priest, and then to the people as he passed along. When he had returned to his seat, the priests, two by two, performed the same ceremony, beginning with the archbishop, who rose, and made obeisance, with a lighted taper in his hand. From the moment the church doors were opened, the spectators had continued bowing their heads and crossing themselves; insomuch, that some of the people seemed really exhausted, by the constant motion of the head and hands.

'I had now leisure to examine the dresses and figures of the priests, which were certainly the most striking I ever saw. Their long dark hair, without powder, fell down in ringlets, or straight and thick, far over their rich robes and shoulders. Their dark thick beards, also, entirely covered their breasts. On the heads of the archbishop and bishops were high caps, covered with gems, and adorned by miniature paintings, set in jewels, of the crucifixion, the virgin, and the saints. Their robes of various coloured satin were of the most costly embroidery; and even on these were miniature pictures set with precious stones. Such, according to the consecrated record of ancient days, was the appearance of the high-priests of old, Aaron and his sons, holy men, standing by the tabernacle of the congregation in fine raiments, the workmanship of "Bezaleel, the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah." It is said there is a convent in Moscow where the women are entirely employed in working dresses for the priests.

'After two hours had been spent in various ceremonies, the archbishop advanced, holding forth a cross, which all the people crowded to embrace, squeezing each other nearly to suffocation. As soon, however, as their eagerness had been somewhat satisfied, he retired to the sacristy; where putting on a plain purple robe, he again advanced, exclaiming three times, in a very loud voice, "CHRIST IS RISEN!"

'The most remarkable part of the solemnity now followed. The archbishop, descending into the body of the church, con-

cluded the whole ceremony by crawling round the pavement on his hands and knees, kissing the consecrated pictures, whether on the pillars, the walls, the altars, or the tombs; the priests and all the people imitating his example. Sepulchres were opened, and the mummied bodies of incorruptible saints exhibited: all of these underwent the same general kissing.

'Thus was Easter proclaimed: and riot and debauchery instantly broke loose. The inn where we lodged became a Pandæmonium. Drinking, dancing, and singing, continued through the night and day. But, in the midst of all these excesses, quarrels hardly ever took place. The wild, rude riot of a Russian populace is full of humanity. Few disputes are heard; no blows are given; no lives endangered, but by drinking. No meetings take place of any kind, without repeating the expressions of peace and joy, CHRISTOS VOSCRESS! *Christ is risen!* to which the answer always is the same, VO ISTINEY VOSCRESS! *He is risen indeed!*

'On Easter Monday begins the presentation of the Paschal eggs: lovers to their mistresses, relatives to each other, servants to their masters, all bring ornamented eggs. Every offering at this season is called a Paschal egg. The meanest pauper in the street, presenting an egg, and repeating the words *Christos voscress*, may demand a salute even of the empress. All business is laid aside; the upper ranks are engaged in visiting balls, dinners, suppers, masquerades; while boors fill the air with their songs, or roll drunk about the streets. Servants appear in new and tawdry liveries; and carriages in the most sumptuous parade.

'The amusements of the people are those of children; that is to say, of English children; for in Paris and Naples I have witnessed similar amusements, when grave senators and statesmen mounted wooden horses, round-abouts, and ups-and-downs, with the inhabitants of those cities. It will be said, the English are a grave people. Be it so: but I believe I could assign a better reason for the want of such infantine sports at their wakes and fairs. Certainly there is no part of our island where men of forty and fifty years of age would be seen riding on a wooden horse, or swinging about in a vault-

ing-chair. Three Russians at a time will squeeze themselves into one of these chairs, and as they are whirled round, scream for joy, like infants tossed in the nurse's arms. I remember seeing the king of the two Sicilies, joining, with his principal courtiers, in a similar amusement.'

Dr. Clarke gives a very unfavourable account of the morals of the Russian nobility. The ties of wedlock are altogether disregarded; but he prefers the disposition of the women to that of the men. Some idea of the manners of the nobility may be derived from the following anecdote of a Russian prince who acted as a pawnbroker.

'An Italian architect, of the name of Camporesi, procured me admission at the house of prince Trubetzkoy, a dealer in minerals, pictures, hosiery, hats, cutlery, antiquities, in short, all the furniture of shops and museums. Having squandered away his fortune, this man gained a livelihood by selling, for himself and others, whatever came in his way. His house, like a pawnbroker's shop, exhibited one general magazine, occupying several rooms. A *prince* presiding over it, and practising all the artifices of the meanest tradesmen, was a spectacle perfectly novel. Any thing might be bought of his highness, from a pair of bellows to a picture by Claude Lorraine. In the same room were handkerchiefs, stockings, artificial flowers, fans, Cologne water, soap, pomatum, prints, books, guns, pistols, minerals, jewellery, harness, saddles, bridles, pipes, second-hand clothes, swords, stuffed birds, bronzes, buckles, buttons, snuff-boxes, wigs, watches, boots, and shoes. "My house," said he, as we entered, "and all it contains, is at your service, or any one's else, who will buy it! I will sell you the house for a single rouble, provided you will pay me also a rouble for each article of its furniture." While we bargained with his highness, prince L. sent a note, which he read aloud. It was to borrow money. "Here's a man," said prince Trubetzkoy, "with a million of roubles in his drawing-room, sends to me for forty-five, to pay his expenses into the country. You see how we go on in Russia!"

'The Russian nobility are passionately fond of travelling; and under the circumstances of the emperor Paul's administra-

tion, this passion increased with the difficulty of its gratification. Some of them entertain extravagant notions of the wealth and happiness of Englishmen; and they have good reason to do so; since whatever they possess useful or estimable comes from England. Books, maps, prints, furniture, clothing, hardware of all kinds, horses, carriages, hats, leather, medicine, almost every article of convenience, comfort, or luxury, must be derived from England, or it is held in no estimation. Some of the nobles are much richer than the richest of our English peers; and a vast number, as may be supposed, are very poor. To this poverty, and to these riches, are joined characteristics in which the Russian peasant and the Russian prince are the same: they are all equally barbarous. Visit a Russian, of whatsoever rank, at his country seat, and you will find him lounging about, with his collar open, uncombed, unwashed, unshaved, half naked, eating raw turnips, or drinking *quass*. The raw turnip is handed about in slices, in the first houses, upon a silver salver, with brandy, as a whet before dinner. Their hair is universally in a state not to be described; and their bodies are only divested of vermin when they frequent the bath. Upon those occasions, their shirts and pelisses are held over a hot stove, and the heat occasions the vermin to fall off. It is a fact too notorious to admit dispute, that from the emperor to the meanest slave, throughout the vast empire of all the Russias, including all its princes, nobles, priests, and peasants, there exists not a single individual in a thousand, whose body is not thus infested. The true manners of the people are not seen in Petersburg, nor even in Moscow, by entering the houses of nobility only. Some of this class, and generally persons to whom letters of recommendation are obtained, have travelled; these introduce refinements which their friends and companions readily imitate. The real Russian rises at an early hour, and breakfasts on a dram with black bread. His dinner at noon consists of the coarsest and most greasy food, the scorbutic effects of which are counteracted by pickled cucumbers, sour cabbage, the juice of his *vaccinium*, and his nectar *quass*. Sleep, rendering him unmindful of his abject servitude and barbarous life, he particularly indulges;

sleeping always after eating, and going early to his bed. The principal articles of diet are the same every where—grease and brandy. The horrors of a Russian kitchen are inconceivable; aud there is not a bed in the whole empire that an English traveller would venture to approach, if he were aware of its condition.

'I have already mentioned the swarms of servants in their palaces. A foreigner wonders how this is supported. The fact is, if a nobleman have fifty or 500, they do not cost him a shilling. Their clothes, food, every article of their subsistence, are derived from the poor oppressed peasants. Their wages, if wages they can be called, scarce exceed an English halfpenny a day. In the whole year, the total of daily pittance equals about five roubles, forty-seven copecks and a half; this, according to the state of exchange at the time we were there, may be estimated at twelve shillings and nine-pence. Small as the sum is, it might have been omitted, for it is never paid. There are few of the nobles who deem it any disgrace to owe their servants so trivial a debt. There is, in fact, no degree of meanness too low for the condescension of a Russian nobleman. To enumerate the things of which we were eye-witnesses, would only weary and disgust the reader. I will end with one.

'A hat had been stolen from our apartments. The servants positively asserted, that some young noblemen, who had been more lavish of their friendship and company than we desired, had gained access to the chambers, in our absence, and had carried off the hat, with some other moveables, even of less value. The fact was inconceivable, and we gave no credit to it. A few days after, being upon an excursion to the convent of the New Jerusalem, forty-five versts north of Moscow, some noblemen, to whom our intention was made known the preceding evening at the *Societe de Noblesse*, overtook us on horseback. One of the party, mounted on an English racer, and habited like a Newmarket jockey, rode up to the side of the carriage; but his horse being somewhat unruly, he lost his seat, and a gust of wind carried off his cap. My companion immediately descended, and ran to recover it for its owner;

H. Dawson Sculp.t

A COSSACK WATCH TOWER.

but what his was astonishment, to perceive his own name, and the name of his hatter, on the lining. It was no other than the identical hat stolen by one of them from our lodgings, now metamorphosed as a cap; although under its altered shape it might not have been recognised, but for the accident here mentioned.

'The numberless bells of Moscow,' says Dr. Clarke, 'continue to ring during the whole of Easter week, tinkling and tolling, without any kind of harmony or order. The large bell near the cathedral is only used on important occasions, and yields the most solemn tone I ever heard. When it sounds, a deep and hollow murmur vibrates all over Moscow, like the fullest and lowest tones of a vast organ, or the rolling of distant thunder. This bell is suspended in a tower called The Belfry of St. Ivan, beneath others, which, though of less size, are enormous. It is forty feet nine inches in circumference; sixteen inches and a half thick; and it weighs more than fifty-seven tons.'

Our traveller measured the great bell of Moscow. 'The circumference obtained was sixty-seven feet and four inches; allowing a diameter of twenty-two feet, five inches, and one third of an inch. We then took the perpendicular height from the top; and found it correspond exactly with the statement made by Hanway; namely twenty-one feet, four inches and a half. In the stoutest part, that in which it should have received the blow of the hammer, its thickness equalled twenty-three inches. We were able to ascertain this, by placing our hands, under water, where the fracture has taken place: this is above seven feet high from the lip of the bell. The weight of this enormous mass of metal has been computed to be 443,772 lbs.; which, if valued at three shillings a pound, amounts to 66,560*l.* 16*s.* lying unemployed, and of no use to any one.

'The architecture exhibited in different parts of the Kremlin, in its palaces and churches, is unlike any thing seen in Europe. It is difficult to say from what country it has been principally derived. The architects were generally Italians; but the style is Tartarian, Indian, Chinese, and Gothic. Here a pagoda,

there an arcade! In some parts richness, and even elegance: in others, barbarism and decay. Taken altogether, it is a jumble of magnificence and ruin: old buildings repaired, and modern structures not completed: half-open vaults, and mouldering walls, and empty caves, amidst white-washed brick buildings, and towers, and churches, with glittering, gilded, or painted domes.

'The view of Moscow, from the terrace in the Kremlin, near the spot where the artillery is preserved, would afford a fine subject for a panorama. The number of magnificent buildings, the domes, the towers, and spires, filling all the prospect, make it, perhaps, the most novel and interesting sight in Europe. All the wretched hovels, and miserable wooden buildings, which appear in passing through the streets, are lost in the vast asemblage of magnificent edifices; among these the Foundling hospital is particularly conspicuous. Below the walls of the Kremlin, the Moscva, already become a river of importance, is seen flowing towards the Volga. The new promenade forming on its banks, immediately beneath the fortress, is a superb work, and promises to rival the famous quay at Petersburg. It is paved with flags, and is continued from the Stone bridge, to another, peculiarly called the Moscva bridge; fenced with a light but strong iron palisade, and stone pillars, executed in very good taste. A flight of stairs leads from this walk to the river, where the ceremony of the Benediction of the Water takes place at an earlier season of the year. Another flight of wooden steps leads through the walls of the Kremlin to an area within the fortress.'

After many delays and extortions, our travellers departed from Moscow, and proceeded southward. All this territory, even to Tobolsky in Siberia, is flat, generally destitute of trees, and always without inclosures. The country is fertile, yet in consequence of oppression, the peasantry are often without the necessaries of life. He proceeded with great expedition through the southern provinces until he reached Kasankaia, in the territory of the Don Cossacks.

'There is,' observes our author, 'something extremely martial, and even intimidating, in the first appearance of a

Cossack. His dignified and majestic look; his elevated brows, and dark mustachoes; his tall helmet of black wool, terminated by a crimson sack, with its plume, laced festoon, and white cockade; his upright posture; the ease and elegance of his gait; give him an air of great importance. We found them in considerable number at Kasankaia, lounging before their houses, and conversing in such large parties, that it seemed as if we were entering their capital. Their dresses were much richer than any thing we had seen in Russia, although all were uniform. Each person's habit consisted of a blue jacket, edged with gold and lined with silk, fastened by hooks across the chest. Beneath the jacket appeared a silk waistcoat, the lower part of which was concealed by the sash. Large and long trowsers, either of the same material as the jacket, or of white dimity, kept remarkably clean, were fastened high above the waist, and covered their boots. The sabre is not worn, except on horseback, on a journey, or in war. In its place is substituted a switch, or cane, with an ivory head: this every Cossack bears in his hand, as an appendage of his dress; being at all times prepared to mount his horse at a moment's notice. Their cap or helmet is the most beautiful part of the costume; because it is becoming to every set of features. It adds considerably to their height, and gives, with the addition of whiskers, a military air to the most insignificant figure. They wear their hair short round the head, but not thin upon the crown. It is generally dark, thick, and quite straight. The cap is covered by a very soft and shining black wool. Some of them have civil and military distinctions of habit; wearing in time of peace, instead of the jacket, a long frock without buttons. The sash is sometimes yellow, green, or red, though generally black; and they wear large military gloves. There is no nation in the world more neat with regard to dress; and, whether young or old, it seems to become them all. A quiet life seems quite unsuited to their disposition. They loiter about, having no employment to interest them; and passionately fond of war, seem distressed by the indolence of peace.'

Our traveller observed the bag-pipe frequently in use. 'The puppets common in Calabria, and carried by the inhabitants of that part of Italy over all Europe, were much in vogue here. These consist of two small figures suspended by a string, one end of which a piper fastens to his knee, or to one of his fingers; while the other end is held by a gimlet screwed into a table or floor; and, by the motion of the knee, the figures are made to move in time. The Calabrians manage them with great dexterity, and often collect a crowd in the streets of London and Paris. We saw also the Cossack dance, which much resembles the dance of the gipsyes in Russia, and our English hornpipe. Like every other national dance, it is licentious.'

The uncultivated *steppes* have a most desolate appearance in winter; but in summer, they appear like a wild uncultivated meadow, the herbage rises knee deep, and are full of flowers. In this journey they visited an encampment of Calmucks, who were distilling brandy from butter-milk. 'Nothing,' he observes, 'is more hideous than a Calmuck. High, prominent, and broad cheek bones; very little eyes, widely separated from each other; a flat and broad nose; coarse, greasy, jet black hair; scarcely any eyebrows; and enormous prominent ears; compose no very inviting countenance. Their women are uncommonly hardy; and on horseback outstrip their male companions in the race. The stories related of their placing pieces of horse flesh under the saddle, in order to prepare them for food, are true. They acknowledged that this practice was common among them on a journey, and that a steak so dressed became tender and palatable. In their large camps, they have cutlers, and other artificers in copper, brass, and iron; sometimes goldsmiths, who make trinkets for their women, idols of gold and silver, and vessels for their altars; also persons expert at inlaid work, enamelling, and many arts vainly believed peculiar to nations in a state of refinement.'

The Don, our author remarks, is in many respects similar to the Nile. On approaching Tcherchaskoy, the capital of the Don Cossacks, by the river, he says, it afforded a most

novel spectacle, and 'although not so grand as Venice, it resembles that city. The entrance is by broad canals, intersecting it in all parts. On either side, wooden houses, built on piles, appear to float upon the water: to these the inhabitants pass in boats, or by narrow bridges only two planks wide, with posts and rails, forming a causeway to every quarter of the place. As we sailed into the town, we beheld the younger part of its inhabitants upon the house-tops, sitting upon the ridges of the sloping roofs, while their dogs were actually running about and barking in that extraordinary situation. During our approach, children leaped from the windows and doors, like so many frogs, into the water, and in an instant were seen swimming about our boat. Every thing seemed to announce an amphibious race: not a square inch of dry land was to be seen: in the midst of a very populous metropolis, at least one half of its citizens were in the water, and the other in the air.'

After viewing this curious and hospitable city, our traveller embarked for the sea of Azof. The Tartars on this sea, he describes as a most diminutive race, and frightful looking people. Near the fortress of Azof, he enquired after the remains of the ancient city of Tanais, but no vestige of its existence could be discovered. The garrison of this place, he describes as leading a most solitary and wretched life. Having sailed across the sea of Azof, he and his companions travelled through Kuban Tartary to the frontier of Circassia. There was then a war between the Circassians and Russians. The former are described as a most extraordinary people. Their clothes ragged, and their necks and legs quite bare. They are, however, excellent, horsemen and remarkably brave.

Dr. Clarke skirted along the frontier of Circassia, to the Cimmerian Bosporus. Upon the elevated land near the Kuban, 'and in the midst of the military stations protecting the line, observatories of a very singular construction are raised, for the purpose of containing a single person. They resemble so many eagles' nests. Each of these is placed upon three upright tall poles, or trunks of trees. Here a Cossack sentinel, standing with his fusil, continually watches the

motions of the Circassians, upon the opposite side of the Kuban.'

After collecting some antiquities, our traveller crossed the straits and proceeded to Caffa. 'The town appeared covering the banks, rising like a vast theatre, with its numerous mosques and minarets, over all the hills inclosing that part of the bay. Many vessels were at anchor near the place; and, notwithstanding the destruction of buildings by the Russians, it still wore an aspect of some importance. In former times it bore the appellation of "*The Lesser Constantinople;*" containing 36,000 houses within its walls; and including the suburbs, not less than 44,000.' The barbarism of the Russians has ruined this place, which however still contains several magnificent baths and mosques, though in a ruined state. Baktcheserai, the capital of the Crimea, has likewise suffered from the wickedness and wantonness of the same savages. Indeed they have laid waste the whole Crimea, cut down the trees, pulled down the houses, overthrown the sacred edifices, destroyed the public aqueducts, robbed the inhabitants, insulted the religion of the Tartars, violated the tombs of the dead, in short, nothing has escaped the Russian rage for destruction.

From this melancholy city, Dr. Clarke proceeded to the Heracleotic Chersonesus, and from hence along the south coast of the Crimea. He next made an excursion, accompanied by professor Pallas, to the minor Peninsula. He afterwards visited Cherson, near which is the tomb of the immortal Howard. From this place he travelled to Odessa, where he embarked on board of a vessel bound to Ineada, in Turkey, and after lying a few days at this place, the Turkish vessel proceeded on her voyage, and landed our ingenious traveller safe at Constantinople, after a long, fatiguing, and perilous journey.

FINIS.

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